

Bronze Age Identities: Costume, Conflict and Contact in Northern Europe 1600–1300 BC

Sophie Bergerbrant



Bronze Age Identities: Costume, Conflict and Contact in Northern Europe 1600–1300 BC

This dissertation deals with male and female social identities during the Middle Bronze Age (1600-1300 BC) in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany. South Scandinavian Bronze Age research has traditionally focused on the male sphere, while women have seldom been seriously considered or analysed in terms of their roles, power or influences on society. This study addresses the imbalance through discussing the evidence for gender relations, social structures and identity. The topic has been approached using case studies from different areas of northern Europe and from a variety of angles (e.g. costume and appearance, age, violence, long distance contacts), always drawing on the rich material from burials.

How people presented themselves varied not only between different areas, but also over time. Groups that treated material culture in a fairly similar way during Period IB (c. 1600-1500 BC) start treating it in different ways during Period II (c. 1500-1300 BC). In southern Scandinavia during Period II the material culture is fairly similar on the whole, but the different geographical groups use the artefacts in different ways. The level of violence seems to have fluctuated in the area during the Middle Bronze Age, with some areas showing more signs of violence at certain times. On the other hand the view on ageing seems to have been fairly similar over a large part of central and northern Europe, and from age 14 one seems to have been regarded as an adult. The dissertation also shows that long distance contacts were important and wide-ranging, and people seem to have moved across large areas of Europe, even if the visible ex-



ISBN
ISSN 0349-4128

Bronze Age Identities: Costume, Conflict and Contact in Northern Europe 1600–1300 BC

Sophie Bergerbrant

ISBN 91-85411-03-05
ISSN 0349-4128 43



Bricoleur Press
Staviksvägen 2
437 92 Lindome
Bricoleur@telia.com
<http://www.bricoleurpress.com/>

Design: Per Mellberg
Print: Elanders Tofters, May 2007

Content

Preface /5

1. Social identity and social structure
– a gender approach /6

Aims /6

Gender and archaeological research /6

Archaeological versus osteological sexing /8

Terminology /9

Bronze Age culture and chronology /9

The south Scandinavian Bronze Age /9

The Lüneburg culture /11

Source material /11

Oak log coffins /12

Theoretical framework /14

Burials, society and wealth /16

Outline of a less gender biased framework /17

Concluding remarks /19

2. Chronology and time /20

Scandinavian chronology /20

The Sögel – Wohlde debate /20

The early Middle Bronze Age chronology /25

The female objects /26

Conclusions /27

Central European chronology /27

Lüneburg culture chronology /28

The male phases /28

Phase I /28

Phase II /29

The female phases /30

Phase I /30

Phase IIa /31

Phase IIb /31

Phase III /32

Conclusions /32

3. Period IB: A time of social differences and
the construction of gendered identities /33

The gender background /33

Background to Period IB /33

Are there any females buried with metal during Period IB? /34

Valsømagle region /38

Conclusion /40

Sögel-Wohlde region /41

Conclusion /42

Ending and starting an era /42

4. Gendered burial traditions: an analysis of
local and regional patterns /44

Dress, appearance and cultural change /44

Body, sex, gender and clothing /44

Textiles, dress ornaments, and cultural belonging /46

History of textiles and clothing /46

Clothing /49

The man's outfit /50

The woman's outfit /54

The traces of clothing and costume on the Lüneburg Heath /60

Costume /62

The men's costume /62

The women's costume /63

Appearance in the local perspective /65

Case study north of Copenhagen /66

Case study south-eastern Funen /71

Case study southern Schleswig /75

Case study: Lüneburg Culture /80

Local or shared dress /85

Male /85

Female /87

Conclusion /89

5. Male identity: united or separated? /92

War and warfare /92

Case study: Ars district, Holbæk County and Gram district,
Haderslev County /93

Case study: The Lüneburg Heath /94

Case study: The threefold frontier /95

Women and warfare /98

Evidence of warfare in northern Europe /102

Concluding discussion /104

6. Ageing in the Bronze Age /107

Age and archaeology /107

Case study: south-eastern Scania /109

The human life course in southern Scandinavia /112

Conclusions: Growing up and ageing in Bronze Age

Europe /115

7. Valued as exchange? Exchange, networks
and movement /118

Women's travels /118

Foreign women /119

Women with both local and foreign objects /121

Conclusion /123

Men's journeys /124

Foreign men /124

Men with both local and foreign artefacts /126

Conclusion /126

A society in movement? /126

8. Conclusion /130

Summary /132

Deutsch zusammenfassung /137

Dansk Resumé /143

Literature list /148

Appendices 1-12 /158

Preface

Writing a Ph.D. is a long process and many people have passed my way and provided inspiration during this time. It is not possible to name them all. I am grateful for many things, both small and great, in the course of this journey.

I am especially grateful to my supervisor, Professor Kristian Kristiansen, who has shown a genuine interest in my work from an early point and who has helped me with many questions and different aspects of my research over the years.

I would also like to thank the faculty, staff and Ph.D. students (past and present) at the Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies for the support they have given me through the years. Particular thanks go to Dr Ingmar Jansson and Professor Anders Andrén for providing a desk at which I could work for the last two and half years. I am also very grateful to Ingmar Jansson for all the time he spent writing references for me; they have surely been a great help. I also wish to thank some of my fellow Ph.D. students (past or present) in Stockholm and elsewhere: Anna Arnberg, Lena Berg Nilsson, Dr Christina Fredengren, Ulf Fransson, Dr Joakim Goldhahn, Dr Cecilia von Heijne, Johan Ling, Petra Molnar, Anne Monikander, Dr Elisabet Regner, Serena Sabatini, Dr Ylva Stenqvist Millde, Marie Svedin, Dr Susanne Thedéen and Dr Helena Victor.

I am most grateful to Dr Marie Louise Stig Sørensen for helping me set the foundations for this work during my year as an M.Phil. student in Cambridge (1995/6). Thanks should also go to all my Cambridge friends for making the experience so enjoyable despite all the hard work.

For encouraging my gender interests, I wish to thank Dr Elisabeth Arwill-Nordbladh, Dr Tove Hjørungdal and Dr Kristina Jennbert. I am especially indebted to Dr Elisabeth Arwill-Nordbladh who took the time to help me overcome a difficult phase in my Ph.D. work.

I would also like to thank Professor Henrik Thrane, Professor Helle Vandkilde, Dr Mads Kähler Holst, Dr Elisabeth Barford Carlsen and many more for making my six months in Aarhus (2001) so enjoyable and enlightening. I am equally grateful to Professor Bernhard Hänsel, as well as the rest of the staff and students at the Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Freie Universität, Berlin, for making me feel at home there during my eight-month stay in Berlin (2002/3).

The directors of the Skelhøj project should also be thanked for letting me excavate with them, which not only improved my excavations skills, but also enabled me to get practical, hands-on experience of Bronze Age mounds and their structures. For this invaluable experience special thanks are owed to Professor Hennrik Breunning-Madsen, Dr Mads Kähler Holst and Marianne Rasmussen.

I am very grateful to Professor Lise Bender Jørgensen, Professor Kristian Kristiansen, Dr Neil Price, Marianne Rasmussen, Dr Joanna Sofaer, Professor Märta Strömberg and Professor Henrik Thrane for reading either my complete Ph.D. manuscript or parts of it. Without their comments

and insights my Ph.D. would have many more errors than it does now; all remaining mistakes in the book are, of course, entirely my own fault.

I am also indebted to Dr Kristin Bornholdt Collins who commented on my text and helped me transform it into good academic English. Thanks are also due to Jeanette Varberg and Dr Jutta Kneisel for translating my summary into Danish and German.

This journey has demanded many trips to museums and archives to look at material and related documentation. I am grateful to the staff at: Prehistoric department at the National Museum Copenhagen, The archaeology department at Stiftung, Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloß Gottorf, Department of Prehistory at Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover and The Museum of National Antiquities in Stockholm, all of whom deserve many thanks for making my time at their respective institution pleasant and interesting. A special thank you goes to the staff at the Library of the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities for always being kind and for taking the time to help me find the books I needed to write this dissertation.

I would also like to thank the following institutions, since without their generous financial help this Ph.D. would not have been possible: Birgit och Gad Rausing's Stiftelse för Humanistisk Forskning; DAAD Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst; Ebbe Kocks stiftelse; Fonden for Dansk-Svensk Samarbejde; Greta Arwidssons fond; Gunvor och Josef Anérs stiftelse; Helge Ax:son Johnsons Stiftelse; Kungliga Gustav Adolfs Akademin; Hildebrandsfonden; Letterstedtska föreningen; Rosa och Viktor Tengborgs resestipendium; Stiftelsen Konung Gustav VI Adolf fond för svensk kultur; Stiftelsen Montelius Minnesfond; Stiftelsen Syskonen Willers donationsfond; STINT; and Wallenbergsstiftelsens jubileumsfond.

Another thank you should go to Dr Håkan Karlsson and Anna-Carin Andersson for letting me publish this book at Bricoleur Press.

Finally, my family should be thanked for supporting me through the years and for not letting it show if they ever gave up on this large project.

Stockholm April 2007

Sophie Bergerbrant

1. Social identity and social structure – a gender approach

This dissertation deals with male and female social identities during the Middle Bronze Age in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany. South Scandinavian Bronze Age research has traditionally focused on the male sphere, while women have seldom been seriously considered or analysed in terms of their roles and possible power or influences on society. This study addresses the imbalance through discussing the evidence for gender relations and the manifestation of this in terms of social structures and identity. The topic will be approached from a variety of angles, always drawing on the rich material from burials.

Aims

The aim of this dissertation is to study social identities and social structure in the south Scandinavian Bronze Age from a gender perspective. The analyses are mainly based on grave material from different Northern European areas from the period between c. 1600 – c. 1300 BC. The focus will be on artefacts from burials which are associated with the body and clothing as well as objects indicative of communication between different areas.

More specifically, some of the questions that are asked of the material are:

- What can the early burial material tell us about the creation of the so-called Nordic Bronze Age culture?
- What gender differences can be read from the clothing outfits and metal wealth in burials from the south Scandinavian Bronze Age and the Lüneburg group?
- What does the burial record tell us about the role of the warrior and the level of violence?
- In what ways was age differentiated in the Bronze Age and how can this be detected in the archaeological record?
- Can one see differences in communication between groups through time and space?

Gender and archaeological research

The most commonly used definition of gender in archaeology is that given by Conkey and Gero (1991:8), who say that gender should be conceptualized as: "...culturally and socially constructed, as historically and culturally contingent, recognizing that gender roles and relations are constituted and given meaning in historically and culturally specific ways". For a detailed discussion about biological sex and gender see chapter 4.

Sørensen (2000:20) claims that gender archaeology has a 'mythical' past (genealogy). She claims that for strategic reasons the sub-discipline, i.e. gender archaeology, has simplified its origins and reasons for existing. She argues that the sub-discipline should accept the complexity and many different motivations for engaging in gender archaeology. Inspired by this argument, my focus has been on contributions in gender archaeology which are relevant to the Bronze Age and the objectives of my research. This means that literature that does not normally occur in gender archaeological presentations will be brought into the discussion, while some 'classical' works in gender archaeology will be left out. I have discussed many of these 'classical' studies elsewhere (Bergerbrant 1994, 1995, 1996 & 1999), while Gilchrist (2000) has published the genealogy of gender archaeology, including an overview of the literature belonging to the sub-discipline's 'mythical' past. Although it omits some important Scandinavian research, readers who are interested in the topic should consult Gilchrist's book.

Writing the history of one's research topic is seen by many as unproblematic. However, Sørensen has pointed out that:

"From a historiographic point of view the result is that the disciplinary past often becomes a travesty. Information is presented that is not used in the arguments, and at its best the past, reduced to a stage-setting, is reproduced as it is now agreed upon rather than through a critical engagement with it. At its worst, through thoughtless selections and the lack of critical awareness, such references become partner to a transformation of that past which results in various misrepresentations and misunderstanding

of the production and construction of archaeological knowledge" (Sørensen 1999:134).

In an attempt to avoid promulgating such 'misrepresentations', it is here chosen to present smaller discussions on the research history relevant to each chapter, rather than having one disparate and unwieldy chapter on the history of Bronze Age research and gender. Nevertheless, by way of general introduction, a brief overview of gender and the south Scandinavian Bronze Age is provided below.

In Scandinavian archaeology Hjørungdal (1994:146ff) was one of the first to suggest that we should think in terms of complexity when it comes to gender, i.e. we should not think in terms of only two biological sexes. She argues that there are many graves which do not have artefacts that enable them to be archaeologically determined as a man or woman. While I agree as a matter of principle that we need to keep an open mind for more than two genders, both regarding identity and biology, this can be difficult in practice, particularly due to the numerous 'empty' graves that cannot be determined to either female or male due to the lack of both artefacts and skeletal material. Furthermore, the prehistoric Bronze Age people would not have had the same problem, for the dead individual was buried in his/her clothing and the clothing would have indicated both the individual's biological sex and social gender. It is tempting to determine the 'empty' graves to female, as there are more archaeologically determined male graves than female graves in southern Scandinavia. The solution is not so straightforward, though, as the man from Borum Eshøj grave A demonstrates. This grave contains clothing, textiles, and a bone pin, and would have been 'empty' if the preservation conditions had not been so good. There are also a number of graves with unisex artefacts that cannot be archaeologically determined, but this does not mean that the individual was regarded as 'different' gender-wise during his/her time, as the clothing would have gendered them. This is not to say that an alternative gender did not exist, but rather that it is very difficult to archaeologically determine one for the Middle Bronze Age in southern Scandinavia due to the lack of skeletal remains. There are therefore large groups of graves of individuals who in the Bronze Age were seen as either male or female, or some specific variation of male or female, or as something completely different, but which cannot be determined today due to the preservation conditions. It does not follow that they should therefore be automatically classified as belonging to an alternative gender category, for this can only

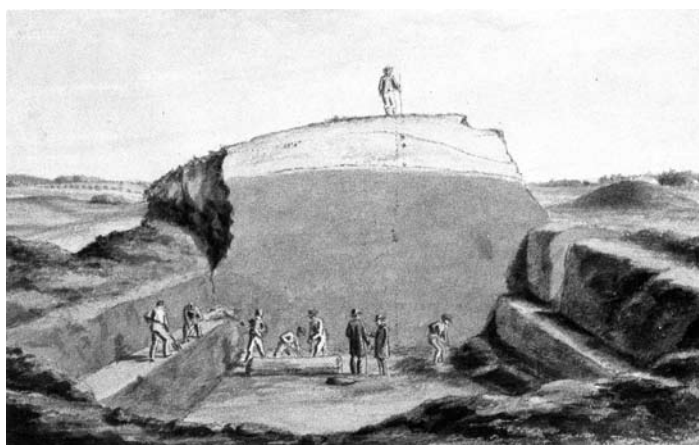


Figure 1:
Borum Eshøj
excavation by
J. Magnus Pe-
tersen (Natio-
nal Museum Co-
penhagen; Jensen
2002:170).

be proposed based on positive evidence, i.e. skeletal remains and objects and/or clothing that cross the biological sex boundaries.

Like Hjørungdal, Sørensen has also embraced the complexity of the situation. For example, she identified two distinct female costumes in the southern Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age (Sørensen 1997:98). She suggests that this might indicate two different female categories, which may be related to gender. The possibility of two different categories of women was also suggested earlier, for example by Eskildsen and Lomborg (1976 & 1977, see chapter 4). However, Sørensen is the first to discuss the difference in gender terminology rather than simplifying the difference to married and unmarried women without a discussion of the social significance of the different roles.

In Swedish archaeology, Göransson (1999:10f) has been one of the first to argue that sex and gender are different levels of a person, where biological sex is more closely connected to the body. She argues that biological sex is a less flexible concept than gender. According to Göransson gender is also connected to the body, but it is a formation of the body that the individual creates that causes others to view him/her as man or woman. Rather than talk about different genders, Göransson prefers to view gender in terms of variations of female and maleness, and she refers to variations of femininity and masculinity even though she also has a more androgynous category in her analysis (Göransson 1999:34-67). Following Göransson, the phrase 'variation of the female gender' is preferred in this dissertation, since using different gender/categories as labels might conceal common traits as well as the possibility that one might move from one to another through the life course, creating unwanted dichotomies.

Finally, the profound interrelationship of object and body has also been noted in the literature and is important to highlight from the outset. Sofaer (2006:50) states that "the body of a person lies in intimate contact with artefacts in a grave. The grave

constructs and restricts, forcing the person and objects into association. It envelops the body and, as a human creation, is itself a form of material culture ... the archaeologist has to maintain the relationship between the body and object through the study of the skeleton as well as through reference to the interpretation of symbolic elements of material culture linked to the perception of the fleshed living body". One must be sensitive to this reality, examine the full context of a find and read all the available clues when approaching the problem of gender and social identities.

For further discussion about biological sex, sexuality and gender see chapter 4.

Archaeological versus osteological sexing

As early as 1837 Bartsch had started examining which objects accompanied women and men in the grave. His work was based on the prehistoric grave material from Mecklenburg. Müller conducted a similar examination in 1876 using the Danish Bronze Age material. Müller focused on the Bronze Age and used the few well-preserved oak log coffin graves found at the time as a starting point. Müller regarded swords, other weapons and some tools as male objects and the belt plate and 'diadem' as examples of female objects. In 1886 Bahnson entered into the discussion, also basing his arguments on the oak log coffin graves as well as other recent finds, i.e. finds from the mid to late nineteenth century. By this time, Sehested had excavated ploughed out barrows on Funen where the 'diadem' had been found in situ, and it was realised that it was a neck collar rather than a diadem. Bahnson points out that there are many unisex artefacts, such as awls, different rings etc. (Bahnson 1886, Bartsch 1837, Müller 1876, Sehested 1884). As Hjørungdal (1994) observes, the nineteenth-century ideal of "the needle-working woman in the doll's house" had a big influence on the criteria of archaeologically sexing graves. In some cases even the lack of weapon was enough to determine the grave to female. This can still be seen in the work of some modern day archaeologists.

As noted above, one problem with the Middle Nordic Bronze Age culture material is that very few skeletons survive. The preservation of skeletons in the different areas varies widely. There is slightly more preserved skeletal material from Sweden than from Denmark, but there has been no systematic examination of this material. For Scania, which has a greater number of bone remains than many other areas, much of the material found in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is not available for modern research.¹ My study is therefore mainly based on artefact assemblages, for example a full length sword has never been found with a belt plate in a closed burial assemblage. One grave with a

sword and a flint strike-a-light (Ølmoshuse, Haraldsted, Ringsted, Sorø Ke1093B) has been osteologically determined as female (Bennike 1985:199f, Randsborg 2006:36). A new examination of the burial shows that the hip bone used to determine the sex differs in colour and preservation condition from the other bone(s). In addition there is another hip bone fragment that partly overlaps with the bone used to determine the sex, while matching the other fragments in colour and condition. This indicates that the first hip bone fragment came from a separate individual and casts doubt on the original designation of the burial. A measurement of the femoral head suggests that it belonged to a person with masculine traits, although it was not possible to make a positive determination to either sex (Pers. comm. Pia Bennike 2007-02-09). From these correlations one can see that certain artefacts belong to the male sphere and others to the female sphere. There are also a lot of objects that can be found in both male and female burial combinations like daggers, and these are seen as unisex objects. Many of the more traditional sexed combinations have parallels in the Central European material where skeletal material and artefact correlations can be compared. In Continental Europe, for example, sword, daggers and axes are found in male graves, whereas neck rings, neck collars, wheel-headed pins and heart shaped pendants are found in female burials (Kubach-Richter & Kubach 1989:86, Wels-Weyrauch 1989a:188ff). Welinder (1977:83ff) discusses the artefact combinations found in Period II Scanian graves. He argues that in one grave a dagger is found in combination with a belt plate and therefore daggers alone cannot be seen as an indication of males. Despite this he has one male category that contains daggers; he may have determined these graves to male due to other non weapon objects in the burials, but this is not explained in the text and it is therefore hard to evaluate his results of which artefacts indicate male versus female.

In this dissertation the following objects are used for an archaeological sexing of the burials:

Southern Scandinavia

Male: swords, axes, socketed axes, belt hooks, razors, tweezers, flint strike-a-lights, and slate pendants.

Female: belt plates, neck-rings, neck collars and bronze tubes.

Unisex: include daggers, awls, arm- and finger-rings, pins, fibulae and double buttons.

Lower Saxony

Male: axes, daggers, flint arrowheads, spearheads, and certain pin types.

Female: wheel-headed pins, bronze tubes, neck

¹ Håkansson (1985:85) claims that they have been renumbered and the key has been lost. This, however, is not the case. The material from many early excavations was given to the Anatomical Institute in Lund. Unfortunately they did not keep track of the origin of the bones. Even though they are now back in storage at the Lunds Historiska Muesum there is no way of knowing from where they originated (Pers. comm. Ylva Olsson, 26/8-2002)

collars, neck-rings, round bronze discs, certain arm-rings such as ribbed arm-rings, bronze studs, and 'diadems' etc.

Unisex: include Lockenring, different types of arm-rings and some fibulae.

In Lower Saxony there are only a few belt hooks and they are generally of a different type from the Scandinavian ones. There exist three belt hooks of Scandinavian type: one a Period IB type found in grave which could be said to be a man from the Valsø-magle area (Bergerbrant 2005a:165), while the others are single finds without exact information. There is also a belt hook of unknown type without information relating to find circumstances. The belt hooks of 'Lüneburg' type are shaped like a paper stapler. There are 13 known examples, and of these nine derive from Wardböhmen (Laux 1971:67 + catalogue). At least five are from female graves and four from male graves. Therefore belt hooks must be seen as unisex artefacts that appear to have been used especially in Wardböhmen.

Sword blades, if they occur alone, i.e. without other bronze objects, are here seen as belonging to the male sphere. This is the case, even though partial sword blades can occur in female graves as well, since they have never appeared as the only object in a grave which has been osteologically determined as female. In graves related to females the sword blades are broken (only the lower half is found in the graves) and it is normally placed at the waist area (Ølby, Højelse, Ramsø, København Ke299). The correlation of whole swords with males is accepted by analogy with Continental European results, where the association of swords and osteologically determined male graves is well established. Unlike Aner and Kersten, graves containing only arm-rings or finger-rings have not been automatically determined as females, since, in my opinion, it is not a valid conclusion. Rings are common in male graves as well, and determining a grave as that of a female by the lack of weapons seems only to reflect the nineteenth century ideal of women (see above).

The female graves assumed for Period IB are generally designated as female because of the lack of weapons. Hachmann (1957: 54ff) argues that graves containing certain artefacts are female, such as small daggers, awls and certain pin types. This has, for example, been adopted by Willroth (1992:46f), who designates graves containing pins as female. This gives him for his area of study, Angel and Schwansen, Schleswig-Holstein, 29 male Period I graves and just one possible female. The determination of female graves in this dissertation is argued from the graves which hold female foreign artefacts, such as Fallingbostel, Lower Saxony and Fahrenkrug, Segeberg, Schleswig-Holstein. The ex-

istence or lack of female graves will be discussed based on the combinations in these two graves, and compared with the standard male assemblages. For further discussion see chapter 3.

Terminology

Bronze Age culture and chronology

Vandkilde (1996:11) renames the Danish Early Bronze Age to the Danish Older Bronze Age. She does this in order to distinguish it from the Central and western European Early Bronze Age, which generally is earlier than the Scandinavian. At the beginning of my Ph.D. work I decided to follow Vandkilde's example and referred to Periods I and II as the Older Nordic Bronze Age instead of the Early Nordic Bronze Age, so as not to confuse the reader when the materials are compared with other European material, as the periods in this study are mainly contemporary with Central European Middle Bronze Age. However, while writing the text it became difficult to use the terms clearly without constant need for clarification. I have therefore chosen to describe the time period between 1600 and 1300 BC as the Middle Bronze Age regardless of which area is being discussed. This may be justified by the fact that so many traits and structures are similar around Europe during the time in question and many changes happen more or less simultaneously in different regions. For a more detailed chronological discussion see chapter 2

The south Scandinavian Bronze Age

The Nordic Bronze Age culture has been given a very wide geographical area by some authors. In Swedish basic archaeology textbooks such as Burenhult (1991:49ff) and Hårdh (1993:63) the Nordic Bronze Age culture covers an area from the Elbe to the Mälär Valley, including Norway up to Trøndelag. Bolin (1999) argued that the northern border of the culture should be drawn at least as far north as Ångermanland (north Sweden). I would, however, argue for a different border that is farther south. Influences have obviously passed through the different geographical areas, but giving one culture name to such a large geographical area with so many different archaeological structures is problematic. By regarding it as one culture, as Bolin does (indirectly he interprets a Nordic Bronze Age Culture that stretches from the River Elbe to the middle part of northern Sweden), the very notion of culture is diluted and perhaps even rendered meaningless.

Thrane (1998) poses the question: is Scandinavia one culture during the Bronze Age? He never really answers the question, but Thrane argues that barrow and cairn have different practical influences on the landscape. While cairns can be seen as partly useful, as they can have a side effect of

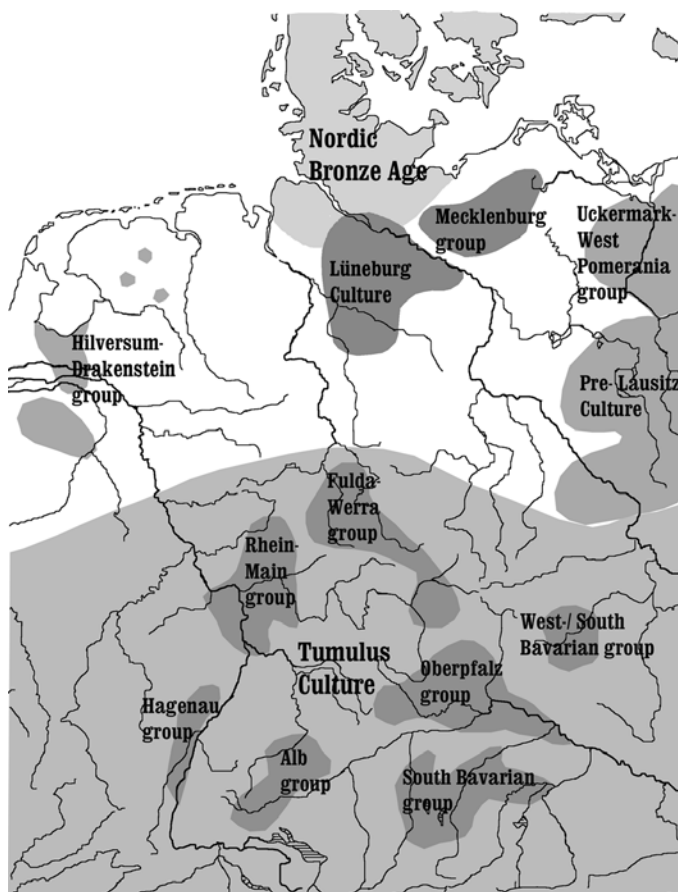
clearing an area from stones (and making it into a field), the barrows have the opposite effect, removing a field from arable use and leaving a scar in the landscape. Thrane, however, argues that they are two sides of the same phenomenon, monumental structures over powerful families. Recently, this has been debated concerning the Mälär Valley cairns. Some scholars regard the cairns as burial places of specific people, such as ritual leaders (see Thedéen 2004:89-131). Should the south Scandinavian mound-building Middle Bronze Age culture and the cairn-building areas, for example the Mälär Valley, really be seen as one culture? There are clear indications that the picture is complex, as has been shown in recent Ph.D. dissertations by Thedéen (2004) and Skoglund (2005).

Kristiansen (1998:68ff) argues that the Nordic Bronze Age culture was composed of elements of general European origin, such as tumulus barrows and later urn burials, and components of genuine Nordic origin, e.g. the lurs and female belt ornaments. According to Kristiansen there are some basic social and cultural traditions that define the larger Nordic group, even though local traditions and variations are apparent. The area where these traditions can be seen expands during the Bronze Age from a smaller area centred on present day Denmark in the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age to a much wider geographical area during the later

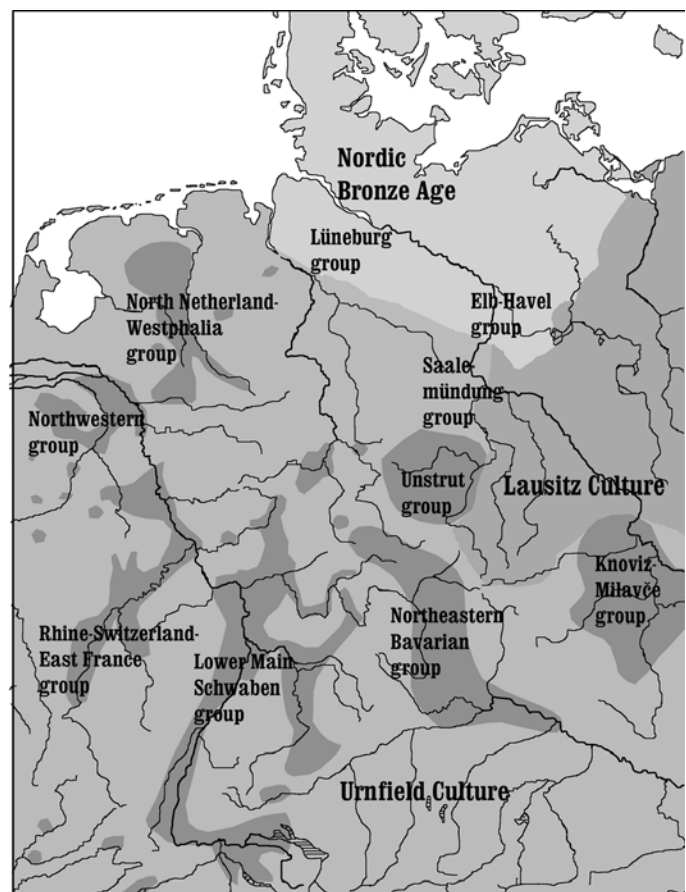
Bronze Age (Thrane 1975:15 fig 1, Willroth 1996:14f, see figure 2).

Bolin (2000:34) is correct in arguing that archaeological material and features have a tendency both to overlap and in some cases exclude each other, so one has to take into account both similarities and differences in delineating social structures and geographical boundaries. However, my conclusion about how far the Nordic Bronze Age culture can be found is very different from his. Bolin sees cairns and heaps of fire-cracked stones (Swedish: skärvstenshögar) as structures where the northern Swedish areas intersect and overlap with the more southern regions. In my view, the author has the Mälär Valley material in mind when he designates these overlapping structures as the Nordic Bronze Age culture. While it is correct that both cairns and heaps of fire-cracked stones exist in Scania and Denmark, the presence of each is minor compared with the mounds and 'normal' refuse patterns. The most common refuse pattern in Denmark and Scania is seen in different kinds of pits (Artursson 2005b:130). A parallel might be the mounds in the Mälär Valley, but compared with the cairns they are a minority structure. With a broader outlook that includes the Central European material one finds many overlapping structures between southern Scandinavia and Central Europe. These structures are, for example, burying the dead in a wood or stone cof-

Figure 2: Distribution of different Bronze Age cultures and groups (based on map by G. WeberinJockenhövel 1994:14).



Middle Bronze Age



Late Bronze Age

fin in a mound, similar house constructions, disposal of refuse, and hoarding/votive practices (Audouze & Büchsenschültz 1992, Coles & Harding 1979, Harding 2000). I would argue that there are more overlapping structures and fewer differences between parts of Central Europe and southern Scandinavia than between southern Scandinavia and northern Sweden. This would give us, if we use Bolin's arguments, a joint European Bronze Age culture, which in my opinion makes the term 'culture' rather pointless. If one looks at the artefact evidence, there are many objects that 'belong' to the Nordic Culture in, for example, the Mälär Valley, but compared with southern Scandinavia they are few during the Middle Bronze Age. Then again there are many objects from the Tumulus Culture in southern Scandinavia. This is a vast topic which is beyond the scope of this thesis and therefore my research area has been narrowed to what here is called 'southern Scandinavia'. This term is used despite the fact that Schleswig-Holstein does not technically belong to southern Scandinavia. In this dissertation the term 'southern Scandinavia' relates to the geographical area of Scania, Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein, as it is mainly material from these regions that provide the essential data for this dissertation and which form the basis for this study.

The Lüneburg culture

The physical border between the Lüneburg group and the Nordic Bronze Age culture is generally seen as the area north and east of the river Elbe and reaching into north-western Lower Saxony (Stader Geest). Many earlier researchers have considered the Lüneburg culture to have been influenced, at least in its formation, by the south German Tumulus culture (Zimmerman 1988:41).

Laux (1971:90ff) created a local typological sequence for the Lüneburg Heath (German: Lüneburger Heide) as he considered the artefact categories to differ too much from those of the Nordic and Central European Bronze Age. Before Laux created his typology, the Montelius period system was the standard used by researchers. Even though Laux is right in his claim that the area's material culture diverges significantly from the Nordic Bronze Age culture during Period II and III, one must reject the idea of introducing a completely new typology for the area. This is particularly so in the light of the very detailed system that Laux proposed, which entails three different sub-groups: the northern Heath, the southern Heath and the Ilmenau-valley, whose different stages (I-IV) do not correlate. He even differentiates between male and female chronology, where the men have four stages and women only three (see figure 3). In my opinion the region is not large enough to justify such a detailed chronological system distinct from the rest of the European

Male burials		Female burials		
Ilmenau	North and South Heath	South Heath	North Heath and Ilmenau	Upper Ilmenau
Phase I	Phase I	Phase I	Phase I	Phase I
Phase II	Phase II	Phase IIa	Phase II	Phase II
Phase III	Phase III	Phase IIb		
Phase IV		Phase III	Phase III	Phase III
	Cremation graves			

chronological system, nor does Laux provide any reliable cross-checking of his stages with reference to parallels in the European Bronze Age chronological system, and this makes comparison with other areas much more difficult. This is unfortunate, as this region probably had an important role in the relations between the Nordic Bronze Age culture and its more southern contemporaries.

In the chronology chapter below, Laux's typological sequences have been related to both the Central European and the Nordic chronological sequence. The Nordic typological phases will be used in the text to make it easier for the reader to follow my arguments. What Laux described as the Sögel-Wohldede period is here called Period IB. Using the Nordic typological sequences means that some of the finer chronological sequences and details may be lost, but it is necessary to simplify the system in order to apply it to a large geographical and cultural area. For more detailed chronological discussions see the chronology and time section in chapter 2.

Source material

The main sources used for the data collection in this dissertation are listed below. The Swedish material derives from Oldeberg's (1974) *Die ältere Metalzeit in Schweden* and Håkansson's (1985) *Skånes gravfynd från äldre bronsålder som källa till studiet av social struktur*, as well as archive material from Antikvarisk-topografiska arkivet (ATA), Stockholm. For Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein the publications by Aner and Kersten (1974 and onward) *Die Funde der älteren Bronzezeit des nordischen Kreises in Dänemark, Schleswig-Holstein und Niedersachsen* volumes 1-11 and 17-19 were consulted. Also important in this respect was Vandkilde's (1996) *From Stone to Bronze. The Metalwork of Late Neolithic and Earliest Bronze Age in Denmark* as well as original research in archives (different archives in the National Museum in Copenhagen, Denmark and the archive at Archäologisches Landesmuseum, Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schloss Gottorf). Sev-

Figure 3: Laux's chronological scheme (based on Laux 1971: 123, table 16).

² References to the different catalogues are Oldeberg = O+nr, Håkansson = Hå + nr, Aner and Kersten = Ke + nr, Laux 1971 = L + nr, Vandkilde 1996 = V + nr.

³ 'Empty graves' are those found without any artefacts. This does not necessarily mean the deceased was buried without grave goods. The man from Borum Eshøj grave A would have been empty if the preservation conditions had not been so extraordinarily good. We know from the well known oak log coffin graves that textile, wooden artefacts and horn objects played an important role in the grave tradition.

eral publications were used for Lower Saxony, including the catalogues in Bergmann (1970) *Die ältere Bronzezeit Nordwestdeutschland. Neue Methoden zur Ethnischen und Historischen Interpretation Urgeschichtlicher Quellen*; Laux (1971) *Die Bronzezeit in der Lüneburg Heide*; and Piesker (1958) *Untersuchungen zur älteren Lüneburgischen Bronzezeit*; as well as some *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* (PBF) volumes (Laux 1976, 2000).² In order to include some of the newer material that has come to light only after the seminal catalogue publications, the *Arkæologiske udgravninger i Danmark* (AUD) was also consulted. My studies are mainly based on the catalogue material, which is presented in the appendices. I also conducted some studies to check the reliability of the catalogues, including personally examining some of the artefacts at relevant museums as well as examining selected archival material. A wide-ranging comparative study such as the one undertaken here would have been impossible if one had had to collect all the material oneself and look at all the objects held by museums. In most cases the judgements of the authors of the catalogues were relied on where dates and artefact types were available. However, sometimes the different authors disagree on basic designations, and then I have used my own judgement to determine artefact type or date. For Period I in Schleswig-Holstein the drawings in Aner and Kersten provided the basis for classifying the objects as either Period IA or IB. The material that was examined more closely, i.e. that with a plan for the grave, also relied on my own assessment to date the object or determine the artefact type.

One problem is that the different catalogues vary in what data they present, which makes statistical comparison difficult at times. In Aner and Kersten there are grave structures without artefacts that are likely to have belonged to the Middle Bronze Age. In Oldeberg those 'empty'³ graves are only presented if they were found in an excavation which produced graves containing artefacts as well.

Oak log coffins

The oak log coffin graves, some of which are found extremely well-preserved, are dated to the Middle Scandinavian Bronze Age (Christensen 1998, 2006) and contain the remains of inhumations; from later phases they may also contain cremated remains. The coffins are found in mounds, often with more than one grave in the barrow, but there is normally one central burial with a second or several other secondary graves in the upper layers or in the periphery of the mound (Boye 1896, Glob 1970, Jensen, J. 1998). Many of the deceased were probably buried in oak log coffins, as indicated by excavations, but only a few of them have survived intact for us to excavate. Some of the best preserved oak log coffins also contain information about textile and clothing,

as well as woodwork and other aspects of material culture from the Middle Bronze Age in the Nordic region.

The mounds that contain preserved oak log coffins have an inner soil core and outer mantle, each with different soil qualities. The unusually good preservation of some of the oak coffins and their contents is due to the creation of an iron pan, both at the bottom of the mound and in the upper layer, sealing the core environment from the mantle. This created a very wet or water-logged soil with anaerobic conditions conducive to exceptional preservation. Many mounds from this time period have developed an iron pan in the bottom of the mound (between the subsoil and the turf), but few have the upper layer preserved (Breuning-Madsen & Holst 1995:89-81). The first theory on this phenomenon was that iron pans resulted from podzolisation. In the 1920s the podzolization theory was still held, but was refined with the explanation that the soil from the core came from wetlands. Modern research has shown that the soils in all parts of the mound seem to come from similar types of soils. This has led to the view that the iron pans were created by gley processes. The latest result in the study of iron core creation in Middle Bronze Age mounds indicates that the redox process was responsible for the creation of a sealed wet environment. The redox process means that wet anaerobic conditions arose in the core of the mound due to oxygen depletion as a result of the decomposition of plant remains shortly after the barrow was constructed. Around this anaerobic core area a thin, strongly cemented iron pan formed. It is believed that the way the tumulus was built influenced the creation of the iron pan (Breuning-Madsen & Holst 1998). Experimental archaeology at the Historical-Archaeological Research Centre at Lejre has shown that it is possible to generate anaerobic conditions in the core of a mound while the mantle and subsoil remain aerobic. The experiment also showed that this can take place within just a short time span and that it creates an atmosphere that prevents decay of, for example, textiles (Breuning-Madsen, Holst & Rasmussen 2001:691ff). Breuning-Madsen and Holst have proposed that the core was compacted with wet earth (if the core is created in the summer then the soil is rewetted to ensure compaction), whereas the mantle was made with less compaction. The decaying of the body, the coffin and the vegetation of the sods starts the gley and redox process and the resulting iron pan stops the decaying processes (Breuning-Madsen & Holst 1995:82-85).

Today, around 30 barrows with preserved oak coffins have been excavated.⁴ Of these, 20 contain datable artefacts and they all date to a limited time frame during the Middle Bronze Age. The creation of the iron pan seems to be the result of special ac-

⁴ About 60 oak coffins are reported to have been found, but many of these have been destroyed or have vanished for different reasons (Christensen 2006:164).

⁵ Of these, 19 definitely and five probably are dated between c. 1391 BC to c. 1344 BC (Christensen 2006:187).



Figure 4: Iron pan from Kongsted (from Holst et al. 2006: figure 1).

tivities while erecting the tumulus. Of the dendrochronologically dated coffins, 24 occupy a brief window dating within 50⁵ years of each other; when the rest of the dated coffins are added, all examples fall within a c. 150-year range (fourteenth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries BC) (Christensen 1998, 2006:187, Holst, Breuning-Madsen & Rasmussen 2001:128-131, Jensen, J. 1993:187ff).

Modern scientific studies have shown that there are many mounds on southern Jutland and in northernmost Germany that still have a well-developed iron pan, i.e. with an enclosing iron core, and many

more show indications of a weakly developed iron pan. The barrows with a well-preserved iron pan seem to follow the Aarhus-Lemvig line (Holst, Breuning-Madsen & Rasmussen 2001:132-135). This would indicate that cultural practices in mound construction can vary from region to region.

The special preservation conditions in the barrows with an iron pan, as well as in bogs, are very good for the preservation of skin, hair, leather and wool. However, the conditions do not preserve material made out of plants, such as linen (Barber 1991:176, Ehlers 1998:6, Meloudie 2000:05). This

makes it difficult to say if linen was used during the Middle Scandinavian Bronze Age. We know that linen was used for clothing in Central Europe (Bender Jørgensen 1992:116). There are, however, no flax remains from Scandinavia (Sweden) from the Middle Bronze Age, and it is only in the Later Bronze Age that flax first appears (Gustavsson 1998:66f). However, remains of linen are known from a male Period II grave from Vaale, Steinburg, Ke 9508 (Ehlers 1998:220, List 5 nr 4).

The preserved oak log coffins have mainly been found on Jutland. There are, however, early stories about possible oak log coffin graves with well-preserved individuals in Scania, Västergötland and on Gotland (Floderus 1931, *Simrishamnsbladet* 3/9 1904, Weiler 1994:26). These, however, seem to have been found in slightly different circumstances. One oak log coffin containing a skeleton was found in a bog in Scania by a farmer in the early twentieth century; it was immediately returned to the bog by the finder (*Simrishamnsbladet* 3/9 1904). The possible case from Västergötland was found in a tributary of Viska river during the 1870s.⁶ It contained remains of a skeleton and clothing, as well as remnants of a probable wooden box placed next to the head (Hildebrand 1879, Weiler 1994:26). Unfortunately this hollowed out oak log and its contents are not preserved in the SHM storage (pers. comm. Inga Ullén 2004-07-27) and therefore it is not possible to securely date this find. However, in the outskirts of a bog in Rone on Gotland an oak log coffin was found containing a sword blade and a pommel as well as a fibula dating to Period II (Floderus 1931:284ff, SHM 19099). Fragments of oak log coffins have been found in mounds in southern Sweden (Boye 1896:170ff), but none of these have been as well preserved as the ones found on Jutland and Schleswig. There is therefore positive evidence that oak log coffins were used for burials in Sweden as well, even if the find circumstances of the preserved ones are slightly different. This indicates that mounds in the Danish Isles and southern Sweden were built differently from the ones in Schleswig and southern Jutland.

Theoretical framework

The Middle Scandinavian Bronze Age has long been studied in terms of rank and elites (e.g. Larsson 1986, Müller 1897, Randsborg 1974). Frequently the society is interpreted with the men having the leading positions, while women only obtained status by marriage (e.g. Kristiansen 1998, Herner 1987:21). This interpretation is often taken for granted without any serious discussion or theoretical framework. The general theoretical framework concerning power relations between individuals, gender groups and different areas will be discussed below, and relevant theoretical discussions concerning the specific

topics and themes that are dealt within the chapters will be considered in greater depth in each chapter.

Relations between different Bronze Age areas in Europe have often been interpreted in terms of centre and periphery (e.g. Kristiansen 1987, Sherratt 1993). Theories such as centre and periphery (world system theory) may in many ways seem gender neutral, mainly because they frequently appear to be depopulated. There is nothing inherently androcentric in the theory when one looks at it on the surface. The problem starts when one looks at the underlying concepts. It is in many ways based on the domestic – public dichotomy, a concept that has been criticised by many feminists (for archaeology see Arwill-Nordbladh 1994). Other theories, such as the so-called liberal power theories, are also based on the assumption of a dichotomy between the public and domestic (Nordin 1991:7). Analyses from these kinds of theoretical viewpoints will find it hard to break through the androcentric bias and they impede the possibility of identifying female power structures.

In world system theory relationships between the core and the periphery are seen as relationships where the partners are more or less dependent on each other. Based on alliances between different areas, a core area and a periphery are created. In the original theory by Wallerstein the core is seen as using the periphery for its raw material (Rowlands 1987:5). In north European archaeology, however, the areas with the valuable raw materials (as we understand them) are generally interpreted as the centre. In his work on the European Bronze Age world system, Sherratt (1993) sees the raw materials, such as metal, salt, and hides, moving southwards (i.e. towards the Mediterranean) and manufactured goods, such as wine and drinking sets, going northwards. It is assumed by most authors that men upheld these contacts, even if women could have been used as marriage partners to confirm the relationships (e.g. Kristiansen 1998:92). These assumptions rest on to the abovementioned domestic – public dichotomy, where men are seen as responsible for the external contacts, and women are seen as living their lives within the household without influence on the 'greater' political life. It can be shown that in some cases male and female spheres interact with different regions (Bergerbrant 2005a); this topic is discussed in more detail in chapter 7. Gröhn (2004:135f) argues that even if we have to use analogy in archaeology the models created by anthropologists never function according to the model in practise. It is true that we will never be able to describe the individual social action fully, e.g. specific marriage alliances, and have to settle with describing a 'norm', i.e. a behavioural pattern created by the fusion of a large number of actions that have created the archaeological record into one model as

⁶ Both Oldeberg and Weiler write that it should have been two hollowed out oak logs, but in the original source (Hildebrand 1897) only one is noted. It may be that there is confusion regarding the two parts of one hollowed out oak log, i.e. the top and the bottom of it.

general way of behaviour.

The relationship between women and men is generally seen in world system terms by many authors. Many authors interpret a wealthy female grave in terms of dependency, where the woman's wealth derives from her family or husband. An example of this is Rallo's (2000) analysis of the rich female graves of the Etruscan culture, where she claims that their authority came from belonging to a high-ranking family. Even though this is probably very true, the same would probably be equally true for the rich male graves, but here other reasons for authority are normally stressed. The difference is in the perceptions of the interpreter, where men gain their authority from actions while women gain it through inheritance. The woman gains her wealth through an unequal social relationship where she is dependent on her family and/or husband. The cost of maintaining the relationship is unequally distributed and the centre (i.e. the man) is using the periphery (i.e. the woman) for the raw material (i.e. the children).

The concept of peer polity could be used in a gendered analysis of contacts as long as one conducts a serious unbiased analysis of the people involved in the interaction. One cannot automatically assume that men upheld the contacts and used women to bind these relations together. Colin Renfrew (1986b) sees two main advantages of peer polity interaction: this is firstly to avoid stressing the topic of dominance and subordination between two societies (see above), and secondly to add more than the socio-political unit to the analysis. The author also warns that defining the terminology of peer polity interaction too loosely might lead to a circular argument. Jan Apel (2001:340f) sees the possibility of two different interaction spheres in the Late Neolithic: a male sphere where flint daggers were part of the exchange of elite goods, and a possible female exchange network, where other goods were bartered. However, he does not specify the types of objects exchanged within the female sphere. From this viewpoint the so-called foreign women can be interpreted in a different light. One could see them as an important factor in the movement of goods through the female networks, instead of as the 'supreme' gift within a male network system. This could, for example, explain how the so-called 'Princess from Drouwen' had a fibula that was probably manufactured in North Germany and a hanging bowl that probably originated in North Jutland (Thrane 2001:556). The woman who possessed these goods may have acquired them through exchange networks of her own.

The most recent attempt to create a theoretical framework for long distance contacts has been presented by Kristiansen and Larsson (2005). They claim that the way for a minority of people to control

the majority is through institutionalisation (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005:8). They argue that "studying the transmission and transformation of social institutions – economic, political and religious" is a way to understand prehistory and its institutions. They continue by claiming that it is the codified behaviour of different activities that form the building blocks of society. According to the authors the institutions are not directly copied from area to area, but rather different areas have different strategies for recontextualising the new ideas and objects (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005:11f). Their emphasis on the need for broad-ranging, large scale archaeological studies rather than localised ones (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005:84ff) is important, for in order to understand the archaeological record we need to conduct investigations at many different geographical levels. Their attempt to introduce a new theoretical framework for these kinds of studies is also much needed. With time it can develop into a useful concept.

Jensen (1982:173ff, 2002:220ff) argues that the graves of the high-ranking men (Middle Scandinavian Bronze Age) contain symbols of authority, such as folding stools, i.e. objects beyond personal dress or weapon equipment of the deceased, whereas the graves of high-ranking women rarely contain any symbols of authority. There is seldom any serious discussion of which artefacts were symbols of authority. Frequently artefacts are assumed to be symbols of authority because they are found in wealthy (male) graves. An example of this is Kristiansen's (1999b) study of Scandinavian Bronze Age caps. Despite claiming that symbols gain meaning from their context, he picks out one symbol and uses it in isolation from its wider context. He claims to have found a structure of male twin rulers, based partly on the few finds of caps in the Scandinavian Bronze Age. One could, for example, claim a relationship between the sun disk on the Trundholm sun-chariot (or the more recently found lunar disc in Nebra, Germany) and the female belt plates and argue for a symbolic relationship that links women with power. My point is that one cannot isolate one symbol and discuss it without reference to other symbols/artefacts. Kristiansen and Larsson (2005:298, 303ff) argue for the existence of a female priestess, a woman who gained status and prestige from her role as a priestess. In their view, the belt plate and the corded skirt are the symbols for a female priestess. According to the authors the twin rulers and the female priestess played important roles in the rituals of the north. At last, the possibility of female authority is starting to be incorporated into south Scandinavian Bronze Age research. However, more research is needed in this field before any sure conclusions can be made about how such authority would have been exercised.

According to Renfrew (1986a) an object can assume value in three different ways: 1) prime value, where material is valued for some arbitrary reason such as rarity and/or inherent attraction; 2) use value, either in its current form or in terms of its potential use, and; 3) labour value, where something is valued for the work involved in the process of creating it. This is probably a rather good measure of an object's value. However, valuable materials such as textiles are often forgotten in the discussion (Andersson, E. 1999). Andersson (1999) points out that the making of both leather and textiles takes a long time. In the Old Norse Sagas textiles in the form of tapestry are mentioned as valued possessions (Göransson 1999:129ff). Despite both archaeological remains of textile fragments and full outfits, as well as spindle whorls etc., textile is seldom taken into account as a highly-skilled specialist craft, regardless of the fact that it most probably was. They are also seldom taken into account as prestige items, unless mentioned in a subordinate clause. An exception to this is Price (2002), who gives clothing, masks and tapestries a central role in his interpretations of the Late Iron Age in Scandinavia. Textiles in the Bronze Age, for example, probably had a prime value (textiles over leather as well as the possibility to shape cloth into different kinds of clothing, for example the above mentioned cap), a use value and a labour value, as it is likely to have taken a considerable time to make them. Therefore it is important to bring textiles and other perishable material into discussions about the value of objects, and to consider the contributions of different groups or genders in the creation of status objects.

Sørensen (1992) has criticized Randsborg's (1986) study of 'Women in prehistory' for taking for granted control over economic resources (in this case men taking control of work done by women), which ought to be a matter of investigation. She points out that his research has fundamental limitations and is only "superficially based on analysis of the Bronze Age material and more generally they rest on androcentric assumptions or ethnography" (Sørensen 1992:37). To avoid a skewed picture, one needs to study the different contributions of the genders to society and their control over other groups/genders more thoroughly before one reaches final conclusions about fundamental power relations in the different societies.

Most of the models presented above have nothing inherently androcentric about them. However, the underlying concepts, such as the private – public dichotomy, may have serious consequences for gender. In my opinion, from a gendered viewpoint, we can use many of the existing theories/models, as long as we use 'gendered glasses', and are critical of old androcentric ideas. A rich grave does not automatically become the grave of a 'housewife' be-

cause it lacks weapons (see Hjørungdal 1994), nor does a weapon automatically make a grave masculine. These types of conclusions should only be made when we have secure patterns that indicate such a relation between object and biological sex. We have to actually look at our material before we make any statements about gender, power or status.

I argue that with an engendered perspective it is possible to use the 'old' theories and hypotheses in gender studies. In studying contact and relations between different groups one should start using and thinking in terms of peer polity interaction; if the studies show that interaction has not occurred on more or less equal terms then one can look to centre-periphery as an explanatory model. It is, however, important to examine the goods and ideas that travel in both directions, and not to focus only on, for example, bronze. In this thesis both rank and social categories will be examined. The main focus will be on the upper stratum of society, as it is the remains of these individuals that provide the data upon which this dissertation is based.

Burials, society and wealth

It is important to discuss what a grave symbolises. Does it reflect an individual's position in life or is it a tradition that hides social differences? Many archaeological interpretations of a living society are based on grave material; my position in this ongoing archaeological debate is argued below.

What can mortuary studies tell us? This has been a lively debate in archaeology (the archaeology of death debate, e.g. O'Shea 1982, Parker Pearson 1982, 1999, Tainter 1978). Is it only ritual behaviour we see or do the burial practices reflect the deceased person's life? I would argue that in most cases we can interpret things about the living society from the burials, gaining insights into everyday life, and not just a belief system.

Many archaeologists argue that mortuary studies are important within the archaeological field. Some contend that it is mainly important for studying and understanding ritual aspects of the society. Morris (1992), who puts an emphasis on the concept 'rite de passage', is an example of this. Thedéen (2004) has, for example, conducted a study where this concept is used on Bronze Age material from the Mälär Valley. This concept has also been used to interpret other types of Bronze Age remains, for example rock art (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002). Ritual and religious meaning is of course a part of most burials, and studies on this topic are important to archaeology. In this study, however, the focus is on other aspects of society and my standpoint is that one can glean more information from the burial record than mere ritual and religious knowledge.

It has been pointed out that burials are cultural

creations that can be used either to mask or to enhance social structures. In some periods it has been claimed that analyses of graves and grave goods can be very rewarding and in other they are not as rewarding (Parker Pearson 1982). In my opinion the Middle Bronze Age in southern Scandinavia and in northern Germany is a period where mortuary analysis is very rewarding, for we have a well preserved burial material where different levels - even if not all levels - of the society are represented (see chapter 6). The burial practice of inhumation with, in some cases, related artefacts, gives us a good foundation for different types of mortuary studies, from social to religious.

It has been claimed that "funeral practices serve to create an idealized representation - a 're-presenting' of the individual by others rather than by the man himself" (Parker Pearson 1999:4). This is probably in many cases true, i.e. while the idealised picture might not be an accurate reflection of the deceased individual, it provides insights into the society in general. My view on interpreting the Middle Bronze Age burial material rests on the assumption that the "individual's treatment in death bears some predictable relationship of the individual's state in life and to the organization of the society to which the individual belonged" (O'Shea 1982:3).

Although there may also be religious, cosmological, mythical and ritual reasons for many aspects of the burial tradition in the Bronze Age, the focus of this study is on the social aspects that can be read from the graves. This study therefore concentrates on other aspects of Bronze Age society, in particular information about the relationships between male and female, various age groups and the different geographical areas that were chosen for this study. More specifically, the focus is on body-related artefacts and clothing. It can be shown that both the clothing and the artefacts display a certain degree of wear (Broholm & Hald 1940, Kristiansen 1975 unpublished). Therefore one can argue that it is clothing and objects used by the deceased in life that accompanied him/her to the grave. This means that the clothing and the objects can tell us something about the deceased person's life before they died, where they originated, with whom they had contact, and who they were.

How do we measure wealth in prehistoric graves? Can one ever find an 'elite'? Few archaeological gender mortuary researchers have focused on the possibility of female power structures. The few examples that exist normally deal with female power/elites from a male position, i.e. weaponry. Were weapons the only prehistoric source of domination, or were there other spheres where power and high status could be obtained? Gender archaeologists who have dealt with questions of female 'elitehood', have done it in relation to the male sphere. Arnold

(1995) interprets female elite graves in the early La Tène culture as powerful women in their own right rather than 'honorary males'. The reason that they could reach this status was because the elite men were busy expanding the territory; this created a vacancy that the females could fill, even if temporarily. So the 'lack' of men gave women a chance to achieve power. Shepard (1999) interprets the so-called Anglo-Saxon warrior maiden graves in similar terms. These are women who take on male roles when the family lacks a suitable son who can keep its traditions and honour alive.

Outline of a less gender biased framework

Randsborg (1982) writes: "we cannot discuss chiefdoms without considering the resources of the chief and, for that matter, of the whole elite". In my opinion the author is right on this point, but we must make our language and our analysis less androcentric. It is not my aim to claim that we have powerful women in every prehistoric society, but we cannot rule out the possibility of authoritative female elites before we even start our analysis. Controls of economic resources, especially food, are often seen as very important in the making and maintenance of power (e.g. Gamble 1982, Halstead & O'Shea 1982).

The discussion that follows will focus on some well-known 'classic' literature that also contributes to my arguments and perspective.

Hodder (1982) has argued for a need to incorporate a broader perspective than social systems when discussing ranking in prehistoric societies. He argues that we need to study more than just functional relationships, and bring in the structures of ideas, legitimisation, beliefs and ideologies. In my opinion this works well with the idea of incorporating gender into the elite debate. Indeed, it might give us other ways into the elite:commoners and male:female relationships. One gender/group might have an economic power base whereas another gender/group might have a symbolic or ritual power base.

Mann (1986:6) argues that power in itself is not a resource. He argues that resources are the media through which social power is exercised. He identifies four different sources of social power: ideological, economic, political and military. Timothy Earle (1997), in a study of the Danish Early Bronze Age, used three of Mann's sources of social power to find out how chiefs came to prominence. He used economic, military and ideology as the fundamental categories in his study to determine upon what the chiefs based their leadership. Despite very promising politically correct formulations in the first chapter, the actual analysis concerns mainly male power and somehow presupposes a male leadership. Without examining the possibility of a female power base we will never be able to fully ex-

amine the power base of the elite.

The abovementioned need to study elite power bases together with Harrison's (1998:14) opinion that the individuals themselves should never be overlooked – i.e. we need to study their experience, their tactics and their strategies to understand their politics – form the foundation for the study of power relations in this work. Harrison argues that gender, age, class etc., limit our choices and possibilities. The different gendered possibilities of the Middle Scandinavian Bronze Age people buried in mounds will be studied in this thesis. According to Elias (1991:192f) a competitive relationship always occurs when many individuals are vying for the same possibilities, when the number of people outnumber the possibilities. He argues that in less specialised societies, without centralised monopolies on power, or ones that have a fairly even economic base, success in warfare and military strength is always the foundation for a strong central power in a larger area. He goes on to say that the intentions and actions of each individual continuously mix with their emotions and reason, and this dynamic can have a determining function in a person's success or failure. Different peoples' actions can lead to situations and changes that no one planned or intended (Elias 1991:286). One needs to remember that even if individuals act rationally their actions might not produce the intended result. Therefore we need to remember that the outcome we find in the archaeological record is not necessarily the one that was intended by the prehistoric people.

Renfrew (1982) has pointed out that there are normally three different ways to explore ranking (i.e. possibilities of elitism in a society): 1) settlement ranking and political structure, 2) monuments (hierarchy), mobilisation and organisation, and 3) ranking of individuals in terms of a) his/her (my addition) handiwork and b) mortal remains. In order to get an as complete as possible picture one needs to bring in all these factors; in this thesis, however, just a few of these structures will be discussed.

A central premise in some gender archaeology studies is that gender is negotiated (e.g. Damm 1991, Sørensen 2000:60ff). For example, Sørensen's view that "negotiation refers to social life being affected by competing interests, which express themselves as rights, obligations and needs" (Sørensen 2000:61). Sørensen also argues that the negotiation concerning resources is not purely about economic redistribution, but is also about articulating and reinforcing socially constructed differences between people. Gender is seen as a negotiated difference between the sexes. In many cases this is a useful term, but one can also argue that there are situations where the balance between the gender/groups is so uneven that one part has very little or

nothing with which to negotiate on a structural level. No society is born out of nothing, and all societies have some form of history where different genders and social groups occupy different positions. Sometimes change happens drastically and sometimes it is slower. The reasons for the change and the different power balance at this time will be reflected in the relative positions of the different gender/groups. In some societies a few people or one gender/sex category will have such overwhelming power that other groups in the society only have the possibility to adjust. 'Negotiation' implies that all people have the ability to influence their position in life and yet there have been times in history when certain social and/or gender groups have had no control over their situation whatsoever. Even though individuals might have had possibilities to negotiate and change their positions on the household level, they may not have had any influence on the broader structural level in society generally. Therefore an aspect of research should involve determining how rigid a society is and if there is actually any room for negotiation before employing the term 'negotiation' in an analysis or explanation.

Work has been done on elite female strategies, with one of the best examples being Gilchrist's book, "Gender and Material Culture: The archaeology of religious women". She has shown that the status of the benefactor (and the background of the nuns) was fundamental to location and architecture of a nunnery, i.e. the structural design of the nunnery reflected the status of its inhabitants. Here one can clearly see how different ideas and strategies created differences in the living space of the nuns, not only in comparison with male monasteries but also within the nunneries. The nunnery of Fontevraultine, which was founded by the Plantagenet royal family, worked as a model for many other nunneries for aristocratic women (Gilchrist 1994:51ff). Gilchrist interprets the mainly richer nunneries with a north cloister as a deliberate attempt to invoke association with the royal Saxon lineage as well as as a religious symbol (i.e. women on the right side of Jesus). This can be seen as a specific strategy of female power relations, as the richer nunneries were often associated with the elite (Gilchrist 1994:128ff). It can be interpreted as a way the nuns separated themselves from lower class nuns and maintained their aristocratic alliances. Gilchrist's study focuses on nunneries even if she makes comparisons with monasteries. However, in order to achieve a full interpretation of the society one needs to have both the sexes in the analysis from the outset. Gilchrist's later work addressed both male and female monasticism, as seen in her publication *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (1995). One may also say that the middle and upper class medieval women had an option to avoid patriarchal domi-

nance (i.e. by becoming a nun), which created the possibility for negotiation, and this is an opportunity that some societies did not have.

Randsborg (1974) argues for a stratified society based on the weight of the artefacts found in the graves. Larsson (1986) instead uses the number of artefacts in the graves to determine wealth. Jensen (1982) also adds symbols of power as a sign of wealth, for example, folding stools. Following Renfrew (1986a, and above), one can argue that one has to take into account all three factors. The weight for the prime value and the number of artefacts in connection to labour value, and, if it is possible, one should also take into account the possibility of use value (maybe as symbols of power). Koch (2001:23ff) has pointed out that Randsborg in his study takes no account of the state of preservation of artefacts. She argues for a consideration of the 'original' weight of objects. She also points out that many of the full-hilted swords contain an inner clay core (in the handle or pommel), so that the weight is not the amount of bronze that went into the object, i.e. it is less. However, in her analysis of objects and weight she does not take into account object size. Swords and daggers have a variety of lengths, and belt plates and tutuli a variety of diameters. If possible this should also be taken into account. This might be a crude way of comparing different artefact categories, but in my opinion it is better than using the exact measurements of the fragmented remains of the objects, as they will only tell us about the state of preservation. There are undergraduate and Masters dissertations dealing with measuring the weights of Middle Bronze Age objects in Schleswig-Holstein and Scania; however, it was not possible to include this aspect in the present dissertation. The quantity of artefacts should also be taken into consideration as it might give us an appreciation of labour value. A smaller object might need more work than a larger object, even if it demands less prime value, i.e. bronze or other material. The number of artefact types that accompanied the deceased into the grave will also be considered, as this can give us knowledge about which rights the individual had in life. Koch (1992), in her catalogue for the number of artefacts, i.e. wealth, also counted artefacts of organic material; this, however, is a matter of preservation and can give a very misleading comparison. As many burials probably originally contained wooden containers as can be seen in, for example, Store Kongehøj, Vamdrup, Ribe, it is misleading to add ceramic vessels in a wealth comparison. In this study no attempt will be made to make detailed measurements or tallies of artefacts, which will instead be presented in a more general manner. It was not possible in this study to take into account all aspects of rank, elite and wealth. This dissertation focus-

es instead on wealth in the form of metal objects, and this will then be used as a base for further investigations about gender and wealth in the Bronze Age, where other factors for wealth will also be analysed and considered.

Concluding remarks

In this study gender is seen as the social variation of the biological male and female, and there can be more than one male or female variation of gender. As there is no positive evidence for a 'third' gender (or more) that crosses the biological boundaries, due to lack of preserved skeletal material, this possibility is not discussed here.

In this dissertation the burial material is used to interpret social structures in the Bronze Age. The presence or absence of metal objects in the burials is used as evidence for determining whether or not, or to what extent, the society was stratified.

2. Chronology and time

When one discusses objects and movements of people in prehistory it is essential to be able to compare and place the objects and graves in the correct time horizon in order to correlate the intermarriage pattern or the objects correctly, an exercise that without chronological knowledge can be very difficult. The different phases of the chronologies have been created with the help of the typological method and find combinations, although other methods, such as dendrochronology and radiocarbon dating, have also assisted in fine-tuning the phases. When one compares social structures over a large area it is important to know what is contemporary, and therefore chronology is an essential tool. In this chapter the south Scandinavian Bronze Age chronology will first be discussed in general, followed by Periods I and II specifically. Subsequently, the Nordic period system will be compared with the main south and Central European systems. This section will conclude with an outline of the chronological division of the Lüneburg Heath and an attempt to clarify and explain how the current scheme relates to both the Nordic and Central European periodic systems.

Scandinavian chronology

The term 'Bronze Age' became widely known and was adopted into general usage following the publication of Thomsen's idea of a three period system (Stone, Bronze and Iron Age) in 1836 (Klindt-Jensen 1975:55ff, Gräslund 1974:101ff). In the mid nineteenth century Bruzelius and Worsaae argued for a division of the Bronze Age into two phases, an earlier and a later phase. They based their argument on differences in burial traditions (inhumation/cremation) and the tendency for each to hold a different stratigraphical position in the mounds. Inhumations were found only in the lower parts of burial mounds, they argued, and therefore belong to the earlier Bronze Age phase (Gräslund 1974:119-127).

In 1876 a debate erupted between Müller and Montelius when Müller published an article claiming that the differences observed in the Bronze Age material were due to regional variations rather than chronological differences. Montelius then sharpened his arguments and after he published his book, *Om tidsbestämning inom bronsåldern med särskildt afseende på Scandinavien* (English: Dating

in the Bronze Age with special reference to Scandinavia), in 1885, Müller acknowledged that Montelius was right. This inspired Müller to create his own even more detailed chronology relating to the south Scandinavian Bronze Age (Klindt-Jensen 1975:87f).

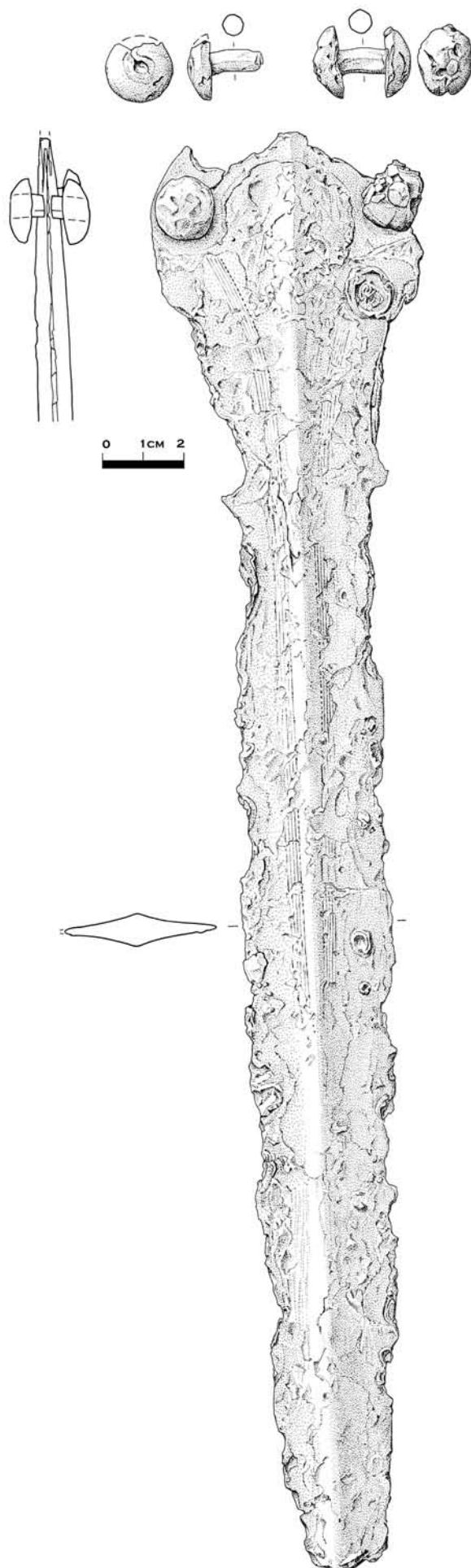
Müller's chronological sequence for the older bronze objects was published in 1909, where he divided the early Bronze Age into six time groups in contrast to Montelius' three periods. Müller's time groups can more or less be fitted into Montelius' scheme (Broholm 1943II:10, Lomborg 1969:91f). Müller's time groups were slightly modified and used in the beginning of the twentieth century (cf Kersten 1936). Now, however, most researchers use Montelius' periods even if their precise content or definition has been modified over time.

Broholm published a chronology in 1943, which he viewed as necessary since many new finds had been unearthed. He created a chronology that related to both the Montelius and the Müller systems. In his chronology he re-named Montelius' and Müller's first Bronze Age period to "Vor første Metalkultur" (English: Our first metal culture). He argued that the objects belonging to this group should be placed in the last phase of the Late Neolithic (Broholm 1943II:212-225). To place this group in a period before the start of the Scandinavian Bronze Age is mainly correct; many of these objects are Early European Bronze Age imports and therefore belong to the south Scandinavian Late Neolithic phase. Broholm's chronological division correlates rather well with Montelius' scheme, except for his interpretation of Period I. Müller's second phase and the first part of Montelius' Period II are by Broholm seen as the real Bronze Age Period I (Broholm 1943II:214).

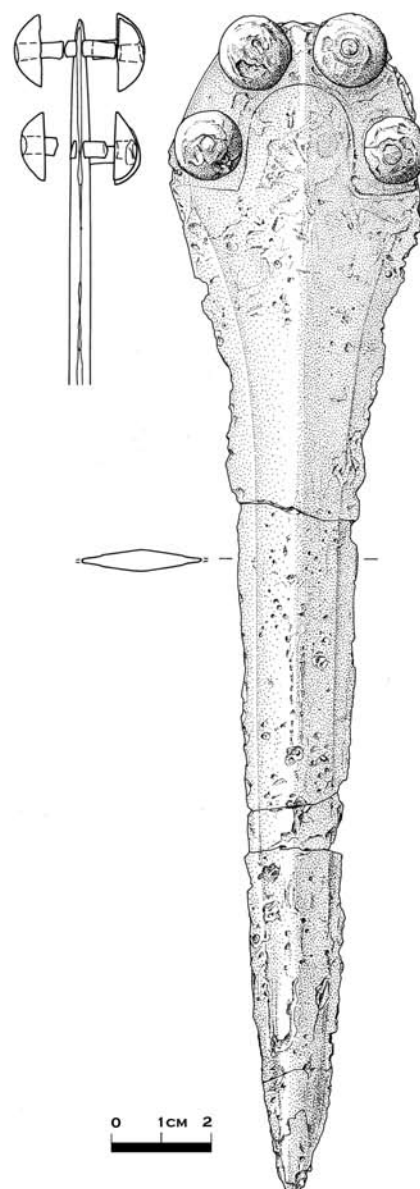
No one has tried to re-create a full Bronze Age chronology since Broholm, even though researchers have worked on various periods within it and their transition to the next (e.g. Lomborg 1960, 1969, Randsborg 1969, 1972, Vandkilde 1996).

The Sögel – Wohlde debate

Period I and its relative and absolute dating, and which artefacts belong to it, has long been debated in archaeology, and there has been a particular focus on the so-called 'Sögel-Wohlde debate'. The discussion started long ago with Montelius and Müller (Broholm 1943II:10), and continues today. More re-



To the Left:
Figure 5: Sögel
dagger from
Glüsing, Dith-
marschen,
Ke9121B (from
Aner & Kersten
1991: Tafel 26).



To the Right:
Figure 6: Wohl-
de dagger from
Schafstedt,
Dithmarschen,
Ke9226A (from
Aner & Kersten
1991: Tafel 47).

cent contributions to the discussion include Vogt (2004) and Randsborg (2006). This debate is essential for how one interprets Period I.

The debate about Period I encompasses two different elements. The first is the relation between the Sögel and Wohlde assemblages. As summarised by Vandkilde, "The most important component of the Sögel assemblage is a dagger blade with a curved, ogival outline, rounded hilt plate, four large rivets, and frequently with ogival decoration. The most important component of the Wohlde assemblage is a dagger or short sword blade, mostly undecorated, with a straight or moderately curved outline, a trapezoidal hilt plate and four large rivets" (Vandkilde 1996:17, see figure 5 & 6). The Sögel blade is thought to originate from the Carpathian Basin and the Wohlde blade from southern Germany (Jacob-Friesen 1967:23, Sprockhoff 1927:137). The crux of the matter is whether or not the two

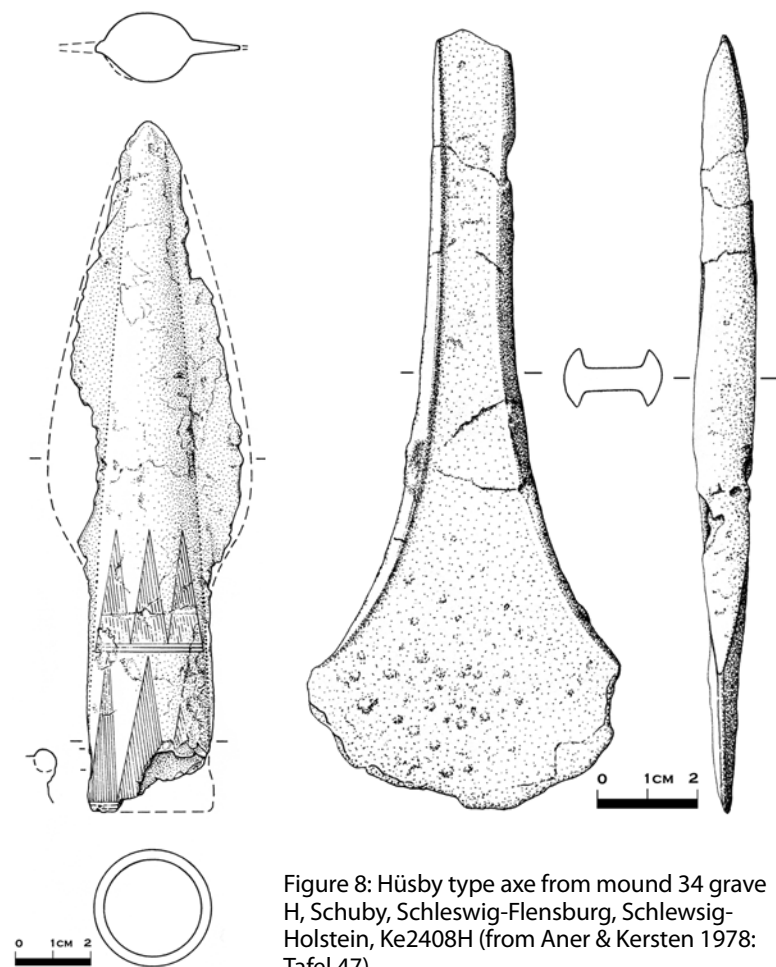


Figure 7:
Bagterp spear-
head from grave
B, Nordborg,
Nordborg, Als-
Nørre, Sønder-
borg, Ke3159B
(from Aner &
Kersten 1981:
Tafel 49).

assemblages are contemporary. The second question involves the relationship between the so-called Sögel-Wohlde burial tradition, i.e. the male burials found from around the Lüneburg Heath to the vicinity of Aarhus, and the Valsømagle burial tradition, i.e. the male graves found north of Aarhus, on the Danish Isles and in southernmost Sweden (for more detailed discussions about the two different burial traditions see chapter 3). This debate is generally focused on these male burial assemblages, while the female material has seldom been discussed. Lomborg (1969) is the last person to bring female artefacts into the debate of the chronology of the first real Scandinavian Bronze Age.

Kersten argues for three different geographical/cultural zones for the Nordic Bronze Age Culture. One core area (zone I) includes a large part of Denmark and southern Sweden, while zone II comprises Schleswig-Holstein, Ribe and Vejle County, county Stade; in Period II this zone also included parts of Mecklenburg. The last of Kersten's zones is the so-called fringe area (Randgebiet) zone III, which includes Pommern, Brandenburg and the area around Hannover. He argues that the Nordic Bronze Age culture does not really start until Period II, he states that consequently one cannot speak of different zones for the Nordic Bronze Age culture in Period I (Kersten 1936:97). However, Ker-

sten refers to the different zones when he discussed his Period IB (the first real Bronze Age, the earlier phase relates to artefacts belonging to the late Neolithic), which among others includes the Bagterp spearhead (see figure 7) and the Sögel dagger blade. He places the Valsømagle assemblage in his Period IIa (Kersten 1936:101).

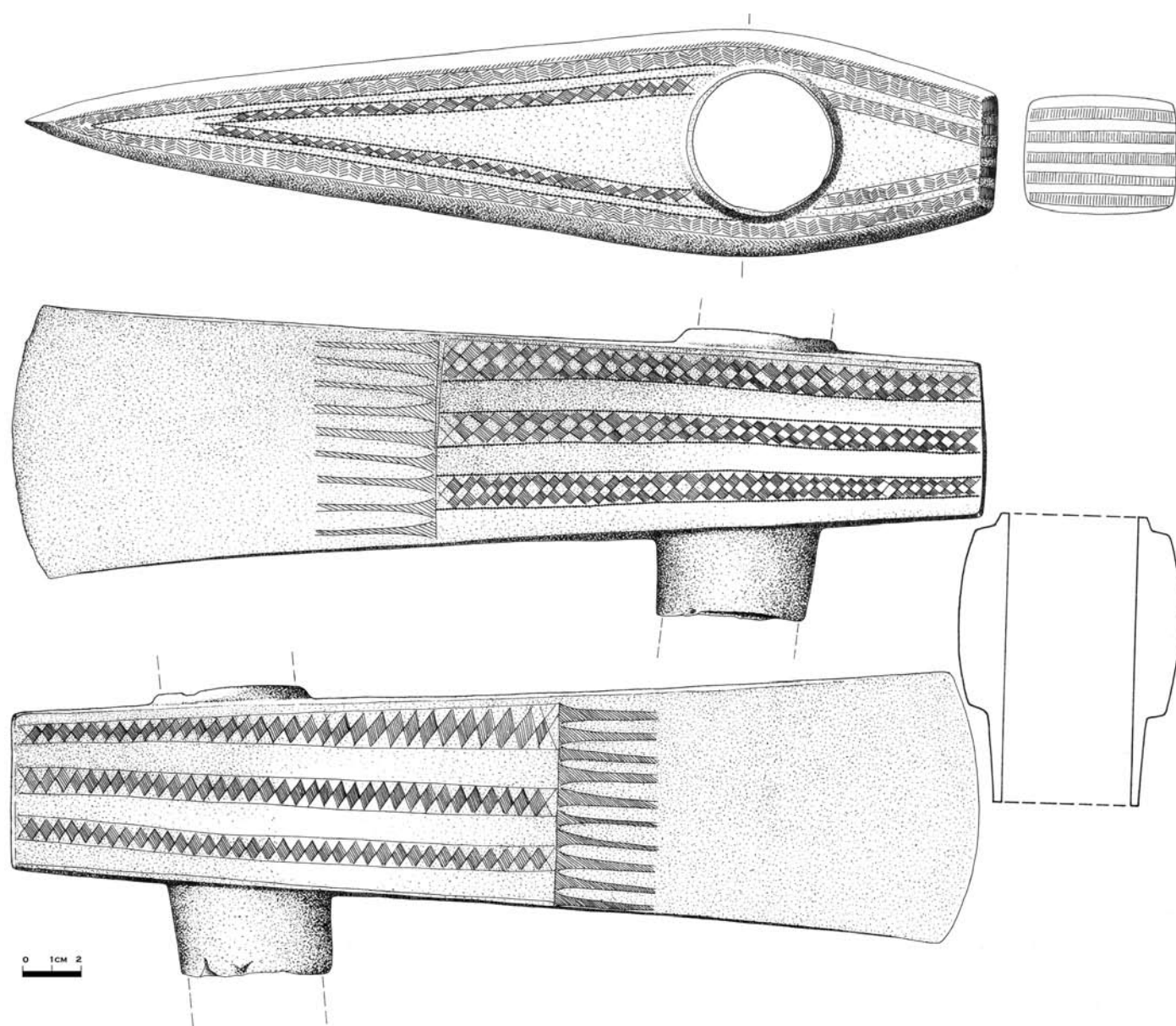
Forssander (1936) conducted a study with the focus on relations between south-eastern Scandinavia and the earliest European metal period. He discussed the early types of bronze artefacts found in south-eastern Scandinavia and how they relate to the Continental material, which assemblages they occur in and the types of archaeological monuments in which they are found. With his focus on objects relating to the south-eastern Scandinavian Bronze Age, such as Bagterp spearheads and Valsømagle-type objects, the Sögel-Wohlde material is not discussed. He also brought in imported Period II objects such as the pendants from Abbekås, Öremölla, Skivarp, Scania. The objects that appear to be made in Scandinavia in the Nordic style are interpreted as belonging to the first phase of the Nordic Bronze Age Culture. Included in this group are objects such as the so-called 'Pile type' axes, Bagterp spearheads and Valsømagle daggers.

Bergmann (1952:22f) was the first to suggest that there is a chronological distinction between the two dagger types. He claimed that the Wohlde type blade must be the oldest blade type in Lower Saxony, an idea that was based on his belief that they were imported from southern Germany. In 1970, however, he changed his mind and argued instead that the Sögel blade is older than the Wohlde type. He also argued that what he calls 'the Sögel time' should be placed somewhere between Periods I and II (Bergmann 1970:A15).

In his major chronological work from 1957, Hachmann argued for a time difference between the Sögel and Wohlde blades. He based this proposal mainly on the stratigraphy of two mounds, namely those at Schuby, Schleswig-Holstein⁷ (Ke 2408) and at Baven, Celle, Lower Saxony (Ha 289a&b), and their geographical distributions and find combination analyses (Hachmann 1957:81-89). For the stratigraphy of the mound in Schuby he discusses one grave with a high-flanged axe of Hüsby type (see figure 8) and a ceramic vessel and a grave with a slate pendant (see figure 25) and a dagger blade, which Hachmann claims has Wohlde elements and therefore can be no earlier than the Wohlde blade (Hachmann 1957:37). This blade was later re-interpreted as a Sögel blade (Vandkilde 1996:117), and this change makes the mound irrelevant to the Sögel - Wohlde debate. The other mound he brings into the discussion is that from Baven. Here we have a burial placed in a 'mortuary house' (German: Totenhaus), where the follow-

Figure 8: Hüsby type axe from mound 34 grave H, Schuby, Schleswig-Flensburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Ke2408H (from Aner & Kersten 1978: Tafel 47).

⁷ Places are written first with the name of a find, then the parish, district and county/region.



ing artefacts were found: a dagger blade of Wohlde type, a bronze pin, 17 flint arrowheads and two flint strike-a-lights. A dagger blade of Sögel type was also found in the mound. Hachmann argues that the Sögel blade is stratigraphically older than the grave containing the Wohlde blade (Hachmann 1957:36f). He concludes that the Sögel blade is older than the Wohlde (Hachmann 1957:37ff, 81-89). In his book he also studied the northern border of what he calls the Sögeler Beigabensitte (the Sögel burial tradition) and concludes that it is at the Limfjord (Hachmann 1957:35).

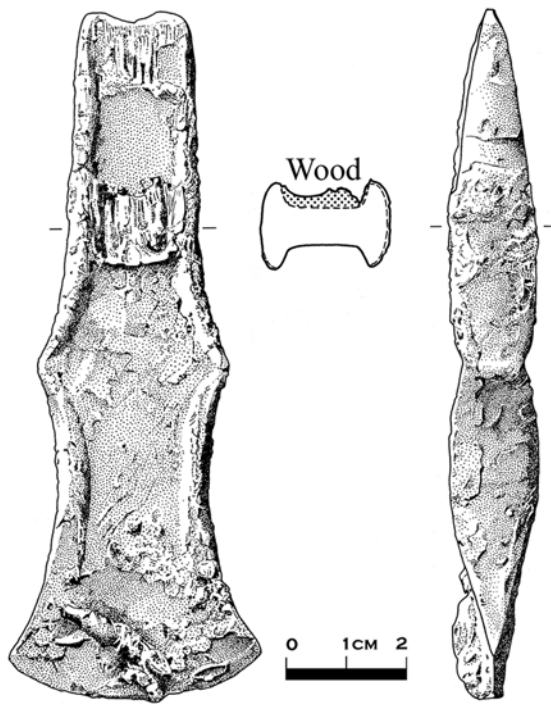
Ebbe Lomborg has conducted many important studies about the Late Neolithic and the Middle Bronze Age chronology (Lomborg 1960, 1969 & 1973). In his study from 1960 he argues that the Sögel and Wohlde blades are contemporary, and are found together with imports from the Tumulus culture. Lomborg argues that the Valsømagle objects are contemporary with the latest Wohlde blades (Lomborg 1960:137ff). In 1969 Lomborg pub-

lished one more important article that dealt with the chronology of Period I, with a focus on the relationship between Periods I and II. In this article he focuses on the artefact assemblages thought to belong to the 'real' Nordic Bronze Age culture, i.e. the Fårdrup and Valsømagle assemblages. Based on the fact that the two different assemblages are not found together and that they have completely different decoration styles, he argued that the Fårdrup assemblage belongs to the early Period I and the Valsømagle assemblage belongs to the late Period I. The Sögel-Wohlde phase is seen to be longer than both Fårdrup and Valsømagle, and therefore is regarded as contemporary with both artefact assemblages (Lomborg 1969:96-108). The so-called Løve horizon is considered to belong to the early part of Period II (Lomborg 1969:109-199). Later, in his chronological work on flint daggers from 1973, Lomborg separated the Sögel and Wohlde phases (Lomborg 1973:154).

In 1967 Jacob-Friesen, following the German tra-

Figure 9: Fårdrup axe from the Fårdrup hoard, Fårdrup, Vester-Flakkebjerg, Sorø, Ke1178 (from Aner & Kersten 1976: Tafel 96).

Figure 10:
Fritzlar type
axe from
mound 35
grave C,
Ke9707C
(from Aner &
Kersten 2005:
Tafel 41).



dition of publishing the classification and documentation of single artefact groups (Kristiansen 1998:21), published his major work on bronze spearheads in northern Germany and Scandinavia. In the book he also discusses the relationship between the Sögel and the Wohlde blades. He concluded that the Sögel blade was introduced before the Wohlde blade, and that the Sögel blade in Central European terminology belonged to phase Br A2 and the Wohlde to Lochham phase (Br B1); he argued that they overlapped and were therefore partly contemporary (Jacob-Friesen 1967:23-30, 69ff). He also discusses at length the relationship between the Bagterp spearhead, the Fårdrup axe (see figure 9) and the Valsømagle blade. His conclusion is that the objects belong to one and the same time sphere, which can be related to the Central European Lochham phase (Jacob Friesen 1967:30-37, 72ff).

Laux (1971:97ff) argued that the two dagger blade types are contemporary based on the find combinations of the Sögel-Wohlde graves and hoards in Lower Saxony. He pointed out that the nick-flanged axes of Fritzlar type (see figure 10) are not only found with the Sögel blade, but that there are also many more Sögel blades than Wohlde ones. He argued that the flanged axe is found in association with both blade types. In his opinion the mortuary house grave in the Baven mound must be older than the secondary grave with the Sögel dagger, and according to Laux this is another indicator that both the blades belong to the same phase.

In his dissertation, Zimmermann argues for a chronological separation of the Sögel and Wohlde blades. He reached this conclusion despite finding nothing in his find combination analysis to indicate a chronological difference. Instead, his interpretation is based on the stratigraphy of the graves

in a mound at Rastorf, Plön, Schleswig-Holstein. The stratigraphy in the mound is used as an argument for the Sögel blade being older than the Wohlde blade, since the grave includes a full-metal hilted sword, which is claimed to be similar in type to the Apa-Hajdúsámson full-metal hilted swords, and therefore more closely related to the Sögel blade. The burial with the full metal-hilted sword and possibly an arrowhead is stratigraphically older than the grave which, amongst other artefacts, has a Wohlde blade (Zimmermann 1988:163f). His view on the Valsømagle assemblage is that it belongs to his time horizon (Zeithorizont) 2a, i.e. later than the Sögel-Wohlde assemblages (Zimmermann 1988:165).

Based on the find combination analysis of 34 burial assemblages from southern Jutland and northern Germany, Vandkilde argued that the Sögel and the Wohlde blades coexisted. Even though her analyses show that there are differences between the two assemblages, these are identified not as chronological ones, but rather as of a social nature. Vandkilde points out that the Lochhalsnadel (see figure 11) primarily exists with the Sögel assemblage, as the pin type in Central Europe is dated to Br B1, so she argues that the previous chronological determination of the Sögel blade (and assemblage) to Br A2 must be wrong. There are no other artefacts in relation to the Sögel blade that indicate a Br A2 date. Therefore she concludes that the two blade types must have a considerable degree of overlap even if the one of the Sögel type might be a little older (Vandkilde 1996:152ff). Furthermore she shows that what she calls the Period IB hoard group and the Valsømagle burial group are contemporary with the Sögel-Wohlde group based on the fact that many of the artefact categories cross-cut the different assemblage types. Artefacts such as Bagterp spearheads, Fårdrup type shafthole axes, nick-flanged axes of Fritzlar type, spearheads of Valsømagle type and Lochhalsnadel belong to the Period IB hoard group. In the Valsømagle burial assemblage some of these artefact types can be seen as well, for example Lochhalsnadel and Valsømagle spearheads. All this indicates that the three different groups are contemporary and that, in turn, all are contemporary with Central Europe Br B1 as indicated by the imports (Vandkilde 1996:156ff).

In an article published in 1996 Sicherl argued that both the Sögel and the Wohlde blades originated in the middle Danube area. He places the blades in Period IA, however, and equates the phase to Br B/Br B1, which in Vandkilde's terminology is Period IB.

Ethelberg (2000:142ff) argues against a synchronous development in all of southern Scandinavia for the Bronze Age. He has argued against Vandkilde's conclusion that Valsømagle and Sögel-Wohlde artefacts are contemporary. He agrees with Lom-



Figure 11: Lochhalsnadel from grave A sb 52, Ordrup, Fårveje parish, Holbæk County, Ke793A (from Aner & Kersten 1976: Tafel 33).

borg and some of the other earlier researchers' hypothesis that Wohlde blades are later than the Sögel blades. He claims that such innovations do not necessarily need to be simultaneous in different areas. Ethelberg's point is that the closer one is to the centre of an innovation, the earlier the novelty will be incorporated. As Schleswig (and Lower Saxony) is connected to the Continent he argues that the Continental news can be seen here earlier than in other Scandinavian regions. Ethelberg argues that the Sögel-Wohlde culture is both earlier and contemporary with the Valsømagle (the Nordic Bronze Age culture), and that the Sögel-Wohlde started by c. 1800 BC in Schleswig. He bases this mainly on four radiocarbon dates, one each from Rastorf and Luttum, county Verden, Lower Saxony, and from Flensburg and Sörup, county Schleswig-Flensburg, Schleswig-Holstein.⁸ Ethelberg also objects to Vandkilde's interpretation of the Baven mound, arguing that the Sögel dagger was found in a secondary position and is therefore not relevant for this discussion. He also concludes that the Lisbjerg hoard is an accumulated hoard and consequently is not relevant.

Vogt (2004) bases her analysis on dagger blades from a large part of Europe, from the Carpathians to Scandinavia. She has divided the area into nine different geographical zones and uses the chronological levels created by Lichardus/Vladár for the Early and Middle Bronze Age in the Carpathian Basin (levels 6-14) as a base for her chronological discussions. The sword and dagger blades are divided into two strata: the genus and the series. Then, the genus and the series are followed from the Carpathian Basin and north. The focus for Vogt is always the blade and its different classifications. She argues that both the Sögel and Wohlde blades derive from the Carpathian Basin. In contrast to Vandkilde she argues that the Sögel blade is older than the Wohlde blade, but that there is a short transition phase (Vogt 2000:11ff).

Randsborg claims that "Vandkilde's chronological merging of the traditional artefact and stylistic milieus of Fårdrup and Valsømagle (...) is a remarkable suggestion. It aspires to violate the classical principle of main typological difference within the same geographical area as being chronological in nature, in particular if supported by find combinations" (Randsborg 2006:16). Instead he creates a very detailed chronology scheme for the Middle Bronze Age with eight different phases. Period I is divided into an Early Period I (Virring-Torsted horizon), Period I (Fårdrup and Sögel-Wohlde), Closing Period I (Valsømagle horizon). Randsborg moves some of the burials classified as Period IB by Vandkilde to a phase called Initial Period II (Løve horizon etc.), as he interprets these artefacts as Løve type rather than Valsømagle type (Randsborg 2006:15-22).

The early Middle Bronze Age chronology

The relations between the Sögel and Wohlde blades and Valsømagle chronology in association with the Sögel-Wohlde burial tradition will be discussed below. This discussion forms the background for the material which is examined in chapter 3. The focus will be on the last 20 years of research, i.e. from Zimmermann to Randsborg.

It is difficult to understand Zimmermann's reliance on the Rastorf mound and its stratigraphy and radiocarbon dates as his only argument for a time distinction between the Sögel and Wohlde blades. Even though the grave containing the full-metal hilted sword is stratigraphically older than the grave with the Wohlde blade (Bokelmann 1977: abb 1 & 3), the radiocarbon dates cannot help in this question. They concern graves 4 and 6 in the mound, whereas the blades in question belong to graves 5 and 6 (Bokelmann 1977). Grave 4 is a Late Neolithic grave as shown both by the absolute date and the small triangular dagger blade that is similar to the blades from the Pile hoard (Bokelmann 1977:93ff, Vandkilde 1996:373). It is therefore no indication whatsoever of how much time passed between the burial of the two individuals and the creation of the graves; there could as easily be one day or many years between them. The metal-hilted sword, which is similar to the sword found in Roum, Fjelsø, Rinds, Viborg (Vandkilde 1996:241), cannot be directly paralleled with the Sögel type blade as Zimmermann argues. It is therefore my opinion that these graves cannot help us to understand the relationship between the Sögel and Wohlde blades.

The radiocarbon dates brought into the debate by Ethelberg (2000:145) are all early examples of radiocarbon dating and none are AMS samples. I have not been able to find out what kind of material was used in the sample, its position in the grave, type of tree etc., only that one sample might come from bone (Flensburg) and provides a calibrated date of 1690-1520 (68.2% probability). This is a grave with a type VI flint dagger and a rollheaded pin (Ke2188E), i.e. without objects directly relevant to this question. This is the only sample that can be said to possibly date the burial, as the lack of information makes the rest of the samples impossible to evaluate, and its date fits in very well with Vandkilde's chronology for the Sögel-Wohlde culture.

The Baven mound and the grave that might contain both a Sögel and a Wohlde blade are difficult to determine. Vandkilde (1996:152) sees the find in the mound as a closed find whereas other authors, such as Ethelberg (2000:144), argue that the Sögel dagger blade was in a secondary position in the mound. This should possibly mean that the Wohlde blade is older than the Sögel blade, as the mound seems to be built over the mortuary house containing the

⁸ Rastorf GrN-10755, wood? 3340 ±80 BP 1780-1450 BC, Luttum KN-I.2082 3480 ±80 BP 1950-1630 BC, Flensburg GrN-10757 charcoal or bone 3320 ±70 BP 1770-1430 BC, Sörup Kn-I.185 3370 ±55 BP 1780-1510 BC (Ethelberg 2000:265, Vandkilde 1996:374f). Calibrated with the help of Oxcal 3.10.

Wohlde blade and therefore the Sögel blade should be later than the main grave. Vogt (2000:12) points out that the mound was not excavated by a professional archaeologist, and it lacks detailed stratigraphical information. Therefore this grave cannot be used as an argument either for or against a time distinction between the two dagger types.

In my opinion, Vandkilde's find combination analysis (Vandkilde 1996:147-160) shows that the Sögel and Wohlde blades, as well as the Valsømagle and the Fårdrup assemblages, all belong to the same phase. The association of the Lochhalsnadel with all three assemblages gives a clear Br B1 date, i.e. the Lochham phase, when compared with the Central European chronology. This means that they can be securely placed in the Scandinavian Period IB. Randsborg (2006:15-22) does not even mention the presence of the Lochhalsnadel in his criticism of Vandkilde's chronology, and the omission of this artefact type in his chronological discussion is enigmatic. Furthermore, he claims that some graves including fibulae and belt hooks, such as Diversshøj, Homå, Djurs Sønder, Randers, belong to his Initial Period II rather than to the Valsømalge phase. In my opinion Randsborg is probably right that the fibulae are a late creation, however, based on find combinations one can argue that they should still be placed in Period IB, albeit late in the phase; surely change was a gradual process.

Another one of Ethelberg's (2000:144) arguments against Vandkilde's chronology is that Vandkilde's distribution map of Period IA bronze artefacts mainly shows finds in the "Valsømagle area". I disagree with this view. There are definitely Period IA objects in the "Sögel-Wohlde area" (see Vandkilde 1996 fig 236 page 221) and as the material from Schleswig-Holstein is not part of her dissertation it does not appear on the distribution maps. The lack of information about the existence of Period IA finds in Schleswig-Holstein makes it tricky to follow Ethelberg's argument. However, the Aner and Kersten volumes for Schleswig-Holstein incontrovertibly demonstrate that Period IA objects exist in this area as well.

The female objects

The focus on the chronology of the early phases of the Scandinavian Bronze Age has been on male related objects, and only a few researchers such as Hachmann (1957) and Lomborg (1969) have discussed the chronology of female-related objects. They are rarely as thoroughly discussed as the male ones. A short summary of the 'later' debate in the female chronology is provided below.

Seventeen graves containing metal objects or amber beads are attributed by Broholm to Period I female graves. The biological sex has been determined by the artefact(s) found in the graves. Ob-

jects that are regarded as belonging to the period are small point-bossed belt plates, some ribbed neck collars, wheel-headed and disc-headed pins, as well as some amber and glass beads. Broholm (1943II:51ff) gave no clear case for why these objects are dated to Period I.

Subsequently, Hachmann discussed the possibility of female graves belonging to the Sögel-Wohlde phase. Important in his argument is the mound from Schulp, Rendsburg-Eckernförde, Schleswig-Holstein (Ke9707) containing four graves dated to Period IB. The artefacts found in grave A comprised: a Rollennadel (rollheaded pin), a flint dagger, seven amber beads, two spiral rings (probable Locken- or ear-rings), an awl, and a ceramic vessel. Hachmann argues that this grave, along with some other graves, is female because the assemblage is different from the standard male Sögel-Wohlde assemblage. Part of the argument for a Sögel-Wohlde date for these female graves is the presence of boat-shaped amber beads, which are regarded as female objects by Hachmann. However, they are also found in some male graves from the period; Høghøj, Skøddegård, Bække, Anst, Ribe (Ke3789B); Trøelstrup, Tønning, Tyrsting, Skanderborg (Va814); and Schoolbek, Rendsburg-Eckernförde, Schleswig-Holstein (Ke2520A). He also argues that the dagger in the female graves is small and modest. One point he makes is that these female graves are restricted to a limited area, where most of them can be found between the rivers Elbe and Eider (Hachmann 1957:54ff).

Jacob Friesen (1967:36), while discussing the chronology for the Bagterp type spearhead, brings in three hoards from the area between the river Warnow to east of the river Oder; Mistorf, Güstrow, Rostock; Heinrichwalde, Neubrandenburg; and Babbín in Pyritz, modern Poland (Jacob-Friesen 1967:361f, 368). All of these hoards contain both spearheads and female jewellery, and all three of them include a neck collar. The Babbín hoard contains five Bagterp spearheads, two axes, one arm-spiral, and one ribbed neck collar (Jacob-Friesen 1967:368). The arm spiral is of a broad ribbon-like type that can be seen in, for example, the hoards in Retzow, Lübz and Schwasdorf, Teterow, both in Mecklenburg. These hoards have been dated to the full Period II (Schubart 1972:66, 144 & 152). The Mistorf hoard includes, for example, so-called Brillenspiralen, which have been dated by Schubart to the transitional phase between Periods I and II (Schubart 1972:14). The hoard from Heinrichwalde includes a disc-headed pin that probably originates from the Lüneburg Heath. These are dated by Laux to his phase late II and III, i.e. the developed Middle Bronze Age. These combinations should indicate that the hoards were accumulated over a longer period of time and therefore cannot be used to

argue for the early use of neck collars in northern Europe.

Lomborg has also discussed the female-related artefacts and their chronology in relation to the male objects. He points out that this is difficult due to the lack of finds that can relate the female artefacts with the male. He argues that to date Period I Nordic female artefacts had been placed in this phase on stylistic grounds, mainly because they differ from the ordinary Period II Nordic female artefacts. He shows that many of the artefacts placed in this period by Müller are imported objects. In his discussion he draws on the evidence of the Mellemholm mound, Nørholm, Hornum, Ålborg, which is claimed to have contained a grave with early Nordic female artefacts, and a male burial with Løve type artefacts. Lomborg argues that these artefacts found in the female burial belong to early Period II. He concludes that there seems to be no locally made Nordic female artefacts during Period I (Lomborg 1969:119-132).

Zimmermann divided the Middle Bronze Age burials into weapon and jewellery graves. For Period I he is in doubt as to whether or not jewellery graves, i.e. female burials, exist. The only regions in his study that have clear Period I graves are northern Germany and southernmost Jutland, and according to the author these only have secure weapons graves and possible jewellery graves (Zimmermann 1988:161ff).

It is very hard to discern any female graves in Period IB, and the ones so far identified are based on negative evidence, i.e. the lack of weapons, as pointed out by Hjørungdal (1994) or when smaller daggers are found in combination with jewellery this combination seem to be the main argument for designating a grave as female. This problem is due to the fact that we do not know any locally made exclusively female artefacts. The few positive female graves we have from the period contain foreign objects that in their region of origin can be securely identified as female based on osteological and find combination evidence. Hachmann's attempt to see certain pin types as female (Hachmann 1957:57) is not a reliable way of locating female Period IB graves containing metal, since these pins are also found in combination with male-related artefacts. However, as pointed out by Hachmann, it seems likely that some of these graves are the remains of deceased women based on fundamental differences in character of some of the graves dated to the Sögel-Wohlde time; for further discussion see chapter 3.

Conclusions

Vandkilde points out that few of the Period IB metal objects survive into the succeeding period (Vandkilde 1996:243). Randsborg has conducted two major

chronological analyses for the later parts of the Middle Bronze Age: one study dealing with the transition from Period II to III, and the other focusing on the transition between Period III and IV (Randsborg 1969, 1972). According to Randsborg and Thrane, late Period II correlates with Central European Br C and the first half of period III with Br D (the Urnfield culture) and the latter half of Period III with Ha A (Randsborg 1968:131-138, 1972:75f, Thrane 1963:161).

Southern Scandinavian Period IA can be said to be contemporary with Central European Br A2 (the Langquaid phase), whereas Period IB clearly archaeologically overlaps with Br B1 (the Lochham phase). Period II early phase has imports of Central European Br B2 objects, whereas the later phase has imports of Br C type (Vandkilde, Rahbek & Rasmussen 1996:189ff). This means that the southern Scandinavian time period studied here correlates more or less completely with the Central European Middle Bronze Age, i.e. Br B – C.

In retrospect one can say that both Montelius and Müller were right. Montelius' general typology is still widely used with only slight changes. However, Müller's idea that there were regional differences was partially right. The discussion about the later Period I and its division shows that in this case there exists both regional use of bronze objects in graves (Valsømagle and Sögel-Wohlde artefacts) and the Fårdrup type artefacts deposited in, for example, hoards in both geographical areas.

For Period I, I have chosen to follow Vandkilde's (1996:15ff) division of the early Middle Nordic Bronze Age⁹ into IA and IB, since, as shown above, I find her result to be the most convincing. During Period IB a regional division of metalwork appears. The partition is distinct in regard to burial depositions, and Vandkilde suggests a line between Aarhus and Lemvig as an approximate border between Zone I and II (Vandkilde 1996:250). According to Vandkilde Period I occupies the time span 1700 to 1500 BC, with Period IA and IB spanning c. 100 years each (Vandkilde 1996:312).

Central European chronology

In order to understand how Laux's chronology (see chapter 1 and below) of the Lüneburg culture and the south Scandinavian area relate one needs to understand the Central European chronology, which provides a bridge between the two chronologies.

The foundation for the Central European chronology was created by Paul Reinecke (Kristiansen 1998:18, Reinecke 1902, 1965), whose work was based on closed finds, graves and hoards in Bavaria. He divided the Bronze Age into four phases and the Hallstatt Age (Hallstattzeit, Ha) into four phases. Further studies showed that the Bronze Age (Br) included the phases Br A, B, C and D as well as Ha

⁹ In Vandkilde's terminology it is the early Older Danish Bronze Age.

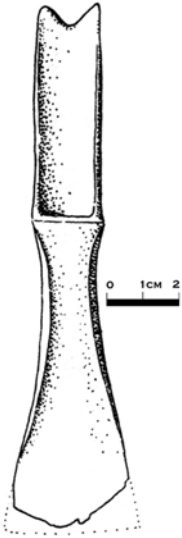


Figure 12: Axe of East-Hannover type, variant Wohlde, from Wohlde, Celle, Ha343 (from Hachmann 1957: Tafel 41).

A and B. Whereas Br A is the Early Bronze Age, Br B and C correlate with the Middle Bronze Age and Br D, Ha A and B are seen as the Later Bronze Age (Harding 2000:10f, Kristiansen 1998:10). The fundamentals of the system were published by Reinecke between the years 1906–09 (Kristiansen 1998:18, Reinecke 1965) and it is still in use, even if certain changes have been made over the years by various researchers (Coles & Harding 1979:24). Reinecke divided the Tumulus period into phases with the help of groups of closed finds from Lochham, Göggenhofen, Asenkofen and Riegsee (Coles & Harding 1979:31); of these named phases Lochham is still in use. This south German phase has been central to chronological discussions in this research, and for dating the first phases of the Scandinavian Bronze Age.

The transition from Early Bronze Age to Middle Bronze Age in Central and southeastern Europe has been discussed on numerous occasions. Modern research shows that the transition between Early and Middle Bronze Age occurred about 1600 BC (Krause 1996:80ff, Vandkilde, Rahbek & Rasmussen 1996:190).

The Scandinavian Period IA can be related to Central European Early Bronze Age Br A2 (phase Langquaid). Br A2 is dated to c. 1700–1600 BC. The Central European Br B1, the Lochham phase, is contemporaneous with the Scandinavian Period IB, and is dated c. 1600–1500 BC.

The following Middle Bronze Age phases range between: Br B2 c. 1500–1400 BC and Br C c. 1400–1300 BC. The last two phases are contemporary with the South Scandinavian Period II (Kristiansen 1998:32, Vandkilde 1996:171f).

The chronology for the Carpathian Basin is much more complex than that of Central and northern Europe. At the beginning, Reinecke's system was used for this area as well. Subsequently, many researchers created their own typology based on pottery from tells or finds from hoards, and the names of the prehistoric cultures are often confined to modern states (Coles & Harding 1979:69ff, Hänsel 1968:8–23, Harding 2000:12ff, Makkay 1996:221). This can make them very hard to use. In this work the period system created by Hänsel (1968) for the bronze objects will be used. He divided the area into three main stages: Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age, with three phases each; FD I–III, MD I–III, SD I–III (Frühe/ Mittlere/ Späte Danubische Bronzezeit). His periods are more closely related to the Central European system. It is suitable to use his system as it is a chronology based on metal objects in closed finds, and therefore comparable with the chronologies created by Reinecke, Montelius and Laux. It is also a logical basis since it is mainly the metal objects that we find in areas outside their place of origin. Although it is possible that other items were exchanged between different geographical areas, non-metal artefacts, such as ceramic, are rarely found outside their original area. The Carpathian periods of interest for this dissertation are mainly FD III, c. 1950–1600 BC and MD I & II c. 1600–1500 BC and III c. 1500–1400 BC (Genz & Schwarz 2004:14–15).

Lüneburg culture chronology

As mentioned in chapter 1 the most common current chronology for the Lüneburg Heath floats outside the established chronologies of Scandinavia and Central Europe. What follows is an attempt to relate Laux's phases to the Scandinavian chronological system, with help from the foreign artefacts found on the Lüneburg Heath and the Lüneburg material found outside its area of origin.

The male phases Phase I

The grave in Beckedorf, Hof Grauen, Celle contains among other things an axe of East-Hannover type (Osthannover-Typ) and a Lochhalsnadel from the middle Rhine area (Laux 1971:166) (Lochhalsnadel of Oberbimbach type). These types of pins are dated by Kubach (1977:113ff) to both the Lochham and the Schwanheim (Br B2) phase of the Middle Bronze Age. In Scandinavian terminology this means Pe-

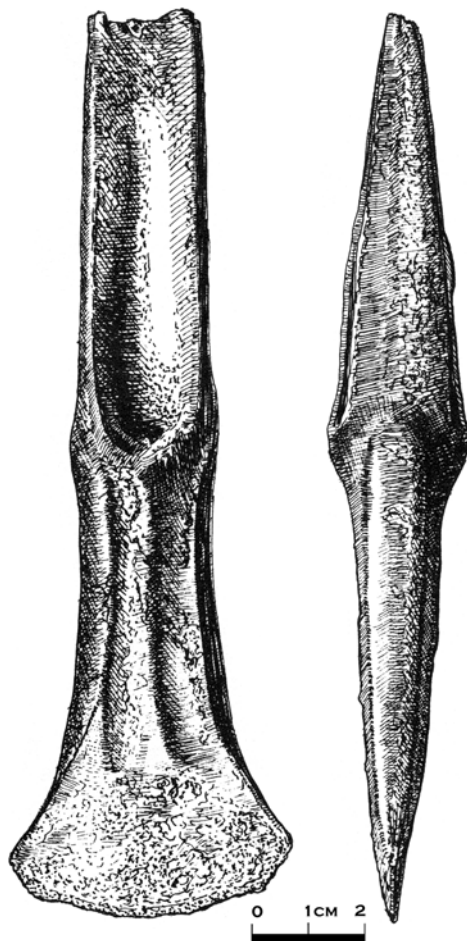


Figure 13: German flanged axe of Bleckmar type from mound 12 grave II, Wittenberg, Bleckmar, Celle (from Piesker 1958: Tafel 22).

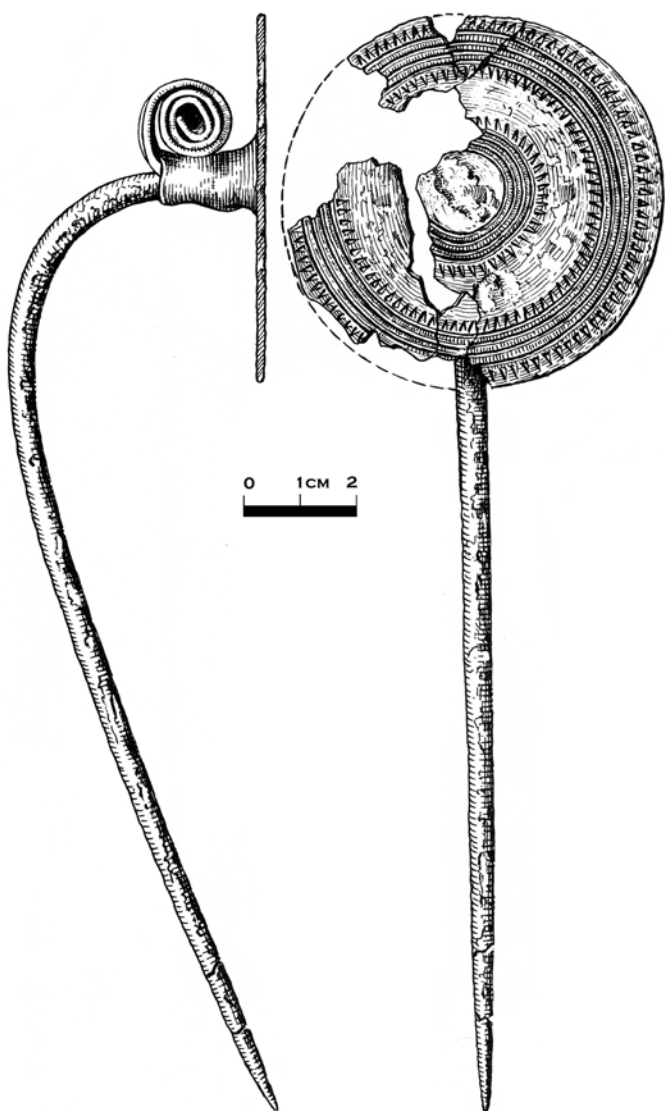


Figure 14: Bavarian disc-headed pin from grave II mound 4, Wittenberg, Bleckmar (from Piesker 1958: Tafel 12).

riod IB and the first half of Period II. However, Innerhof (2000:57f) argues that it belongs to the Lochham phase.

Axes of East-Hannover type variant Wohlde (see figure 12) have been found in a number of Laux phase I graves, for example Beckedorf, Dohnsen-Wohlde, Celle and Dorfmark-Wesrendorf, Fallingbostel (Laux 1971:166, 173 & 185). Laux later dated this axe type to the late Sögel-Wohlde phase and Westendorf phase (his first male phase, Laux 2000:151ff). Examples of this type of axe in Scandinavia are found in combination with Period II objects in the two graves from Schleswig-Flensburg; Boltoft, Sterup (Ke2312) and Schuby (Ke2414E). The burial in Beckedorf seems to contain both Period I and II objects. We can therefore assume that Laux's male phase I correlates with the early Period II in the Scandinavian typology and Br B2 in Reinecke's system.

Phase II

The objects suitable for relating this phase to the other chronological schemes are the North German flanged axe of Bleckmar type (Laux 2000:105ff, see figure 13) and the Bavarian disc-headed pin (see figure 14).

Laux argues that the Bavarian disc-headed pins are of two types, one imported belonging to this phase and one locally-made copy belonging to the next phase. The difference between them is that the imported pins are made in the Überfangguß technique, i.e. the pin is cast separately and then the disc-head cast around the pin, whereas the local copies are made in one piece (Laux 1971:55f). Innerhofer dated the Bavarian disc-headed pins in parts of Central Europe to the late Tumulus and early Urnfield period (Innerhofer 2000:193ff). In Scandinavian typology terms this is equivalent to Periods II and III.

The North German flanged axes of Bleckmar type are found in male graves from this phase in Lower Saxony, and also in Schleswig-Holstein, for example in the hoard from Ostfeld, Oldenhütten, Rendsburg-Eckernflöde (Ke9691), which included a large number of north German flanged axes and a dagger blade as well as sickles. This hoard dates this axe type to period II. Therefore, we may assume that this phase belongs to late Period II in Scandinavian typology and Br C in Central European typology.

As Laux's phase II includes Scandinavian Period II objects, as well as objects that date to both Reinecke's Br C and Br D, then the two

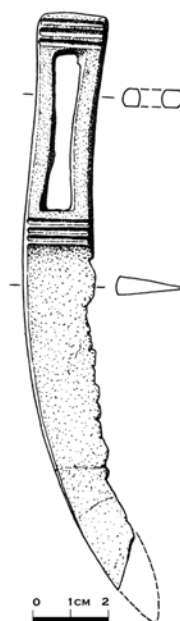


Figure 15: Frame-grip knife from Grave D, Estrup, Allindemagle, Ringsted, Sorø, Ke1092D (from Aner & Kersten 1976: Tafel 76).

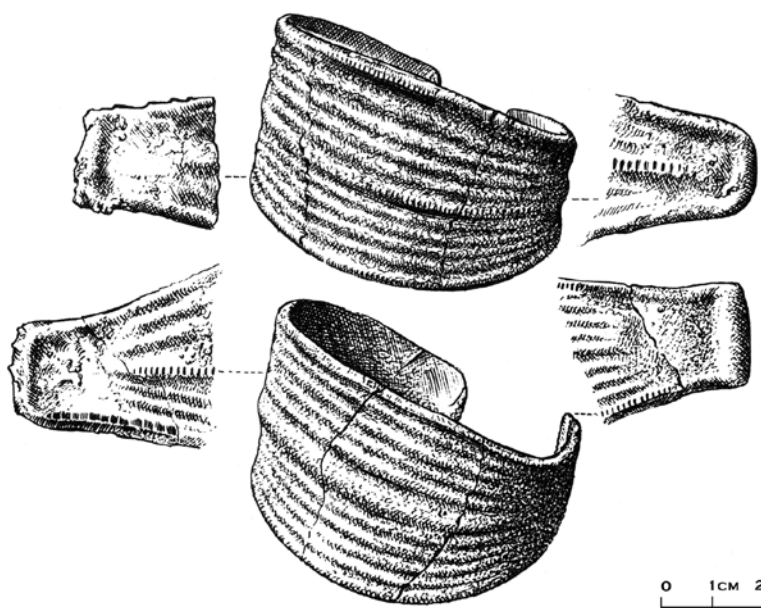


Figure 16: Two Stollenarmband from grave III mound 9, Wittenberg, Bleckmar (from Piesker 1958: Tafel 20).

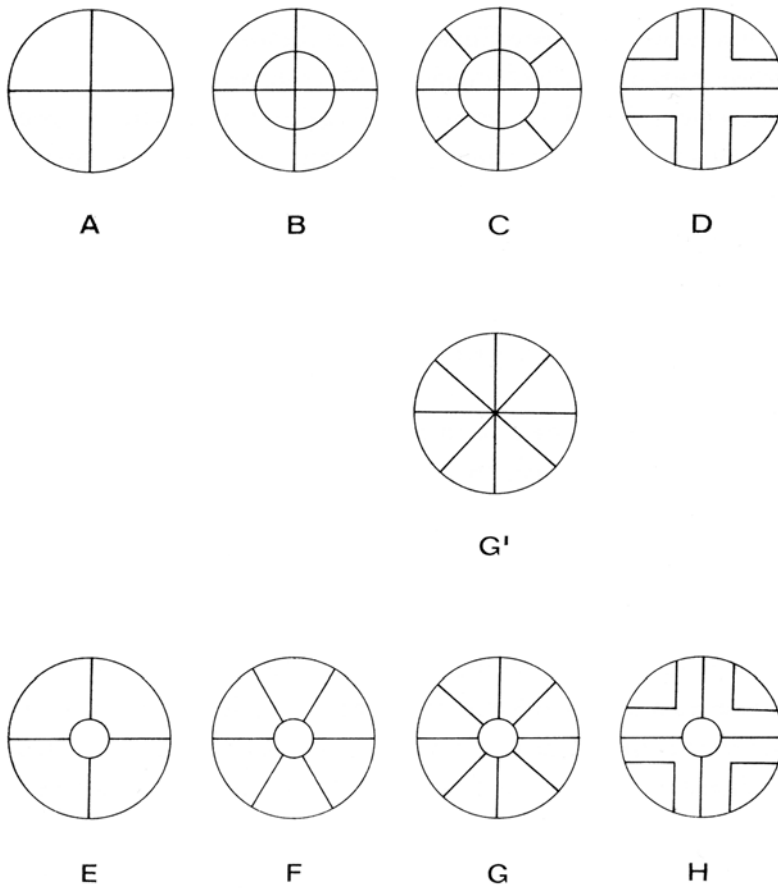


Figure 17: Spoke scheme for wheel-headed pin (from Kubach 1977:130).

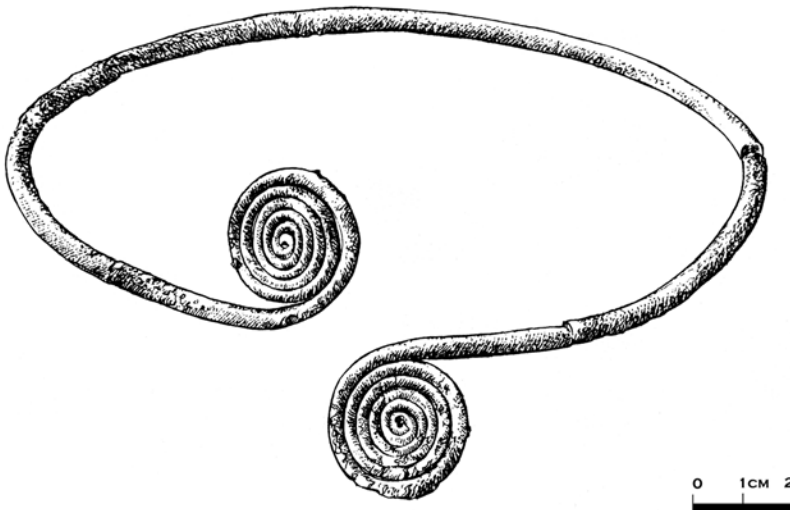


Figure 18: Halsbergen from grave 3 in mound 9, Wittemberg, Bleckmar (from Piesker 1958: Tafel 19).

last phases (III and IV) must belong to the Scandinavian Period III. His phase IV includes the Scandinavian Rahmengriffmesser (frame-grip knife, see figure 15), which is securely dated to Scandinavian period III, except for a few that date to Period II (Prüssing 1982:19–27). The only definite Period II Rahmengriffmesser in Lower Saxony that dates to Period II is found in a female burial in Kolkhagen, Lüneburg (Prüssing 1982:19–27); all the others are dated to Period III or are indicated as dating to Pe-

riod II/III (Prüssing 1982:38–49). From this one can assume that phase III is also contemporary with the Scandinavian period III.

The female phases

For the female sphere Laux has divided the Lüneburg culture into three groups. However, for the South Heath (the source of the material used for the analysis in chapter 4) he has divided phase II into IIa and IIb (Laux 1971:122ff). Phase IIa and IIb will both be correlated, but not phase II, since it seems likely that the phase is contemporary with the phases IIa and IIb.

Phase I

Even in the Lüneburg culture's first phase one can see artefacts that make up the special Lüneburg costume (see chapter 4). Many of the objects are clearly influenced by the foreign woman buried in Fallingbommel during the Sögel-Wohlde period (see chapters 3 and 7).

Laux's chronology dates the Stollenarmbänder (see figure 16) with five or seven ribs to his first phase (Laux 1971:59f). Piesker, however, dates the seven ribbed arm-ring to late Montelius Period II and early Period III (Piesker 1954:111ff). It seems difficult to find a good chronology for the Stollenarmbänder as few of the other chronological schemes bring in the number of ribs in their chronological discussion and some of the other arm-ring types with more ribs obviously have a longer life span (Hänsel 1968:101f, Laux 1971:59f). Therefore, we have to turn to other artefacts for relating this time sphere.

The locally made wheel-headed pins¹⁰ of 'spoke scheme' (German: Speichenschema) E (see figure 17 for the spoke schemes) are dated by Laux to his phase I (Laux 1971:51f). The burial in Søviggårde, Ovtrup, Vester-Horne, Ribe (Ke4170) contains a Lüneburg wheel-headed pin of spoke scheme E, a ribbed neck collar and a small unornamented belt plate/tutulus. This grave has been used in the discussion of early South Scandinavian female typology. This grave is discussed by Müller who places it in his second period (Lomborg 1969:119). Broholm (1942II:52) places it in his first Bronze Age period (which is more or less Müller's second period). Lomborg, however, pointed out that this grave contains imported artefacts and therefore could not be placed in Period I on stylistic grounds alone. He argues for a late Period II date for this grave (Lomborg 1969:119f). One might argue for an early Period II date for the Søviggård burial, based on Laux's claim of this pin type having an early date in the Lüneburg culture, that ribbed neck collars seems to appear from the start of Period II, and the lack of ornamentation of the beltplate/tutulus. However, this date cannot place Laux's first phase with-

in Period II as the date of the grave is based on the Laux typology.

Many of the female artefacts in this phase, such as bronze tubes and bronze studs, were used during all the phases (Laux 1971) and therefore they cannot be used to correlate this phase with the Scandinavian and/or Central European chronologies. The lack of imported objects in this phase, and the fact that I have not found any Lüneburg artefacts from this phase in burial or hoard assemblages with non Lüneburg artefacts, makes this phase hard to correlate. As the only datable female Sögel-Wohlde period grave in Lower Saxony is the one found in Fallingbostel, we can assume that this phase must be later than Period IB. Therefore, it has to be assumed that this phase correlates with the early Scandinavian Period II and Central European Br B2.

Phase IIa

The only artefact type that is exclusive to phase IIa is the neck-ring with end spirals (German: Halsbergen, see figure 18, Laux 1971). This type of neck-ring has its main distribution in Lower Saxony; however, examples of it are found in southwest Germany as well. Wels-Weyrauch has dated this artefact type to the Traisbach phase, which is mainly part of the later Central European Middle Bronze Age, c. Br C (Wels-Weyrauch 1978:153ff). This would place this type in the latter half of the Scandinavian period II.

Phase IIb

This is the phase on the South Heath with the most foreign artefacts (Laux: Tabel 11). This phase is therefore one of the easiest to correlate with the chronologies of the surrounding regions. The wheel-headed pins of spoke scheme B, G and H will be discussed first.

There are three wheel-headed pins of spoke scheme B (see figure 19) found in graves with other artefacts in Lower Saxony: grave V in mound 4 Wittenberg, Bleckmar; grave I in mound 13 Schafstallberg, Wardböhmen, Celle; and grave I, Langen, Wesermünde. In addition to these there are four pins found without association to other finds, either as single finds or in mounds (Laux 1976:17f). This type of pin is dated by Kubach (1977:197ff) to the Bessunger Wald phase (Br C).

The wheel-headed pin found in grave II mound 13 at Schafstallberg, belongs to Laux phase IIb for the Südheide (Laux 1971:115). It is a double profiled wheel-headed pin of spoke scheme G, believed to be an import from the Middle Rhine area (Laux 1971:50). This type of pin is dated by Kubach (1977:206) to the Bessunger Wald phase, which belongs to the late Tumulus period (Br C). This translates into the Scandinavian chronology to later Period II (c. 1400-1300 BC).

Wheel-headed pins of spoke scheme H have been

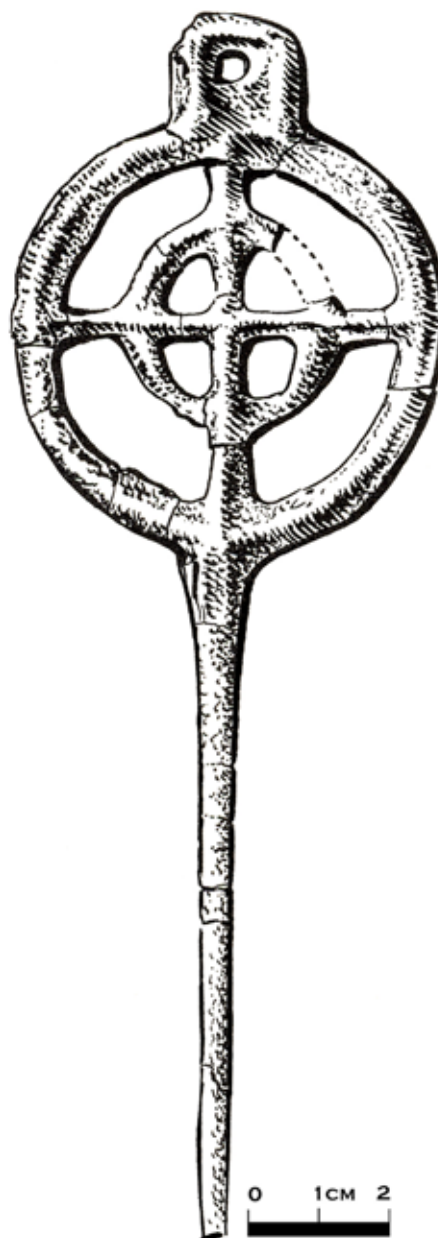


Figure 19:
Wheel-headed
pin from mound
13 grave I, Schaf-
stallberg, Ward-
böhmen, Celle
(from Piesker
1958: Tafel 59:2).

found in Lower Saxony in grave III in mound 9 in Wittenberg, Bleckmar Celle; mound 1 in Dankelsheim, Gandersheim; the central grave in mound 1 in Werder, Hildesheim-Marienburg; and in Eimstorf (Laux 1976:25f). Laux dated these broadly to his phase II (more specifically to IIb, Laux 1971:114). According to Kubach this pin type belongs to the Bessunger Wald phase (Kubach 1977:217ff).

It seems that all the foreign wheel-headed pins in Laux's phase IIb belong to the Bessunger Wald phase in the Hessen and Rheinhessen area. As this period translates into Reinecke's Br C, it can safely be assumed that Laux phase IIb correlates with the latter half of the Scandinavian Period II (c. 1400-1300 BC).

Comparing and separating Laux's phase IIa and IIb with the Central European and the Scandinavian system is not straightforward. Looking at the types that cross the Lower Saxony borders, both stages

¹⁰ The locally made so-called Lüneburg wheel-headed pins have a single-sided profile whereas the imported wheel-headed pins are double-sided (Laux 1976:15).

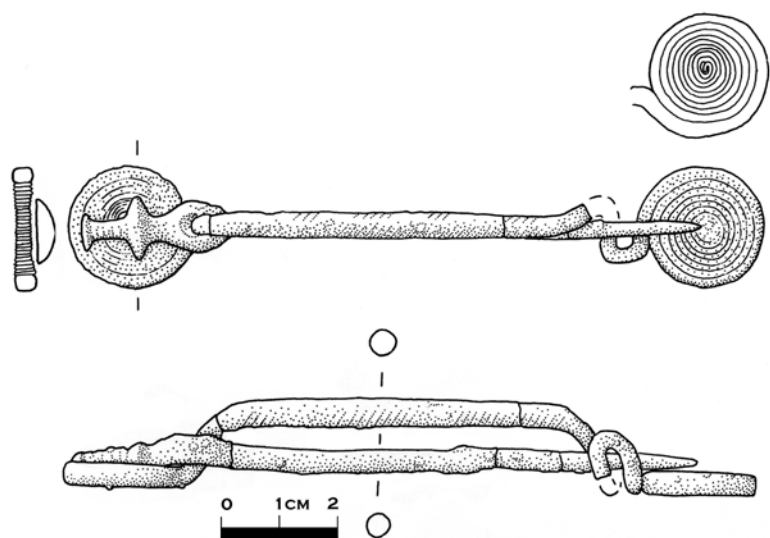


Figure 20: Cross-headed pin from a grave in Smerup, Hvidbjerg, Ref, Thisted Ke5477 (from Aner & Kersten 2001: Tafel 103).

seem to belong to the latter part of Period II or Br C. If this is true, it seems like there are just a limited number of early Period II graves in the Lüneburg Heath followed by a massive explosion of graves during the latter half of Period II. The number of female burials drastically diminishes, it seems, during Period III (for further discussion see chapter 4).

Phase III

The Scandinavian cross-headed pins (German: Kreuzkopffibel, see figure 20) found in, for example, graves of Laux’s phase III are securely dated in Scandinavia to Period III, even though there are a few examples that belong to Period II (Randsborg 1969:70-86, 101f). Based on the Kreuzkopffibel one can claim that Laux’s phase III correlates with the Scandinavian period III.

Conclusions

It has been shown above that Laux’s male and female phase I can be equated with Br B2 and early Period II, whereas male phase II and female phase IIa and IIb are most likely contemporary with Br C and the later part of Period II. Laux’s phases III and IV are contemporary with Period III.

	South Scandinavia	Central Europe	Carpathian Basin	Lüneburg
1300 BC				
1400 BC	PII	Br C Bessunger Wald	SD I	Phase II (a+b) Bonstorf Wardböhmen-Kolhagen
1500 BC		Br B2 Schwanheim	MD III	Phase I Westendorf Behringen-Bonstorf
1600 BC	PIB Sögel-Wohlde Valsørnagle Fårdrup	Br B1 Lochhamn	MD I & II	PIB Sögel-Wohlde
1700 BC	PIA	Br A2 Langquaid		
			FD III	
			1950 BC	

Figure 21: Chronological schema for the Middle Bronze Age (selected periods mentioned in the text).

3. Period IB: A time of social differences and the construction of gendered identities

This chapter starts with a brief introduction to how women and their objects have been discussed in Bronze Age research. There is then a general introduction to the period which is followed by a discussion about whether female graves with metal exist during Period IB. Then the two different burial traditions are discussed separately, and this is followed by a concluding discussion. This chapter focuses on the start of the so-called Nordic Bronze Age culture seen from a gender and burial perspective.

The gender background

The graves of the Middle Bronze Age were noticed in the 'early hours' of archaeology, which was very much due to the find of the oak coffins (see chapter 1). The first oak log coffin grave was found in 1823 in Foldingbro. These graves were found by non-archaeologists in connection with farming and road building, or by treasure hunters (Boye 1896:1f, Jensen, J. 1998: chapter 2). These early finds were interpreted as places of safe-keeping for the possessions of the dead, hidden away under a barrow to prevent them from being robbed. The interpretation is based mainly on the fact that very few oak log coffins contained human bones. It was thought that the deceased was cremated and buried in the top of the barrow (Boye 1896:3, Glob 1970:10), since many mounds contain Late Bronze Age urn burials.

In his 1872 book about the Scandinavian Bronze Age, Nilsson argued that the women were armed; he saw the belt plate as a small shield, and thought they were colonists who needed to defend themselves against the half wild local population. He compares the situation with the European colonists in North America (Nilsson 1872:120). The weapons in the graves are not regarded as having any importance for the female gender; they are instead seen as a necessity for coping with the hostile environment. Other archaeologists also saw the belt plate as a shield buckle, but Müller questioned this interpretation and saw the belt plates as jewellery used by the women (Müller 1876:282f). It was with Sehested's excavations between 1878-1881 that they were first found in situ with textiles, not wooden fragments (Sehested 1884:50), leading to their interpretation as large tutuli or belt plates.

'Gender archaeology' appears early on in the archaeological Bronze Age debate. An article was

published by Müller as early as 1876, followed by replies from Mestorf (and others) (Hjørungdal 1994:143ff). A debate about the female essence was instigated by the find of the woman in 1871 at Borum Eshøj, who had a dagger, among other female-related artefacts. This artefact type had previously been seen as an exclusively male object (see chapter 5).

More recently, Randsborg (1986) has also discussed the position of women in prehistory. In his article he only just touches upon the fact that daggers are not exclusively male objects. Nevertheless, he overlooks the presence of daggers in female graves in the Middle Bronze Age in his interpretation of the woman's role in the Middle Bronze Age. He connects women with the private sphere and men with a political sphere. This is an assumption that is not fully examined in the article. Objects such as folding stools are taken as symbols of political authority, and if there are female symbols of authority, they are never discussed. The belt plate or the dagger, for example, could have been seen as female symbols of authority, but the possibility was omitted from the discussion, while simply relegating all females to the private sphere.

Sørensen (1992) has criticised Nordic Bronze Age research for lacking in gender awareness. She pointed out that there are few studies that have gender issues incorporated in their analysis. Since her article there have been several additions to the literature that begin to redress the situation, including undergraduate dissertations, a few articles and some relevant Ph.D. dissertations (e.g. Selling 1998, Strassburg 1997, Thedéen 2004). Integrated gender analysis is still missing in many of the bigger publications, however, and there is still much research to be done. It is hoped that my present contribution is one more step towards not only improving the awareness of gender issues in the Bronze Age, but also demonstrating that this is an important and fruitful approach that opens up new horizons for interpreting the evidence.

Background to Period IB

The chronology and typology for the Middle Bronze Age, especially the transition from PI to PII, has long been debated in archaeology. The main points of contention include both the internal correlation of the Sögel and the Wohlde daggers and where to

place the Valsømagle type artefacts. For a detailed discussion about the chronology and relationships between these artefact assemblages see chapter 2.

There are only a few graves containing bronze objects which are dateable to Period IA. In Denmark there are 14 (see Vandkilde 1996:220). This sample is too small, and the distribution too wide, for an analysis with reliable results that would be relevant to this dissertation topic. However, it is interesting to note that most of the graves fall within the area that becomes the Valsømagle region (Vandkilde 1996 fig 236). However, there are Period IA graves in Schleswig-Holstein (i.e. the Sögel-Wohlde area) as well as, for example, at Wacken, Steinburg, Schleswig-Holstein (Ke9512) and Hanerau-Hademarschen, Rendsburg-Eckernförde, Schleswig-Holstein (Ke9645).

In Denmark, Vandkilde has shown that a significant increase in the number of burials containing metal objects occurred between Period IA and IB. During the latter phase burials account for 22% of the localities (burials, hoards, stray finds) with metal objects (Vandkilde 1996:243).

The Danish and Northern German material has previously been divided into different zones (see for example: Kersten 1936:97ff, Vandkilde 1996:16f). A line can be drawn between two Danish zones, running approximately between Aarhus – Lemvig in Jutland. Vandkilde has shown that there is a difference during period IB of the south Scandinavian Bronze Age in both depositional practices of bronze objects and, mainly, in artefact groups, i.e. the Valsømagle and the Sögel-Wohlde types (Vandkilde 1996:190ff). In this study Vandkilde's Danish zone II together with the North German and Lower Saxony material, i.e. the Sögel-Wohlde group is seen and analysed as one large entity. It seems more rewarding to look at one big unit with smaller regional sub-groups than to separate them into different culture groups/zones, particularly since, despite minor local differences, the groups have fairly similar burial traditions within this region. In this study the two larger areas, drawing on the two traditional burial assemblages (Lomborg 1969:94ff), will be considered: the Valsømagle (= Vandkilde's zone I and southernmost Sweden) and the Sögel-Wohlde (= Vandkilde's zone II and the German material).

A glance backwards in time shows that the Late Neolithic on Jutland, Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony was part of the Single Grave Culture (Coles & Harding 1979:295, Hübner 2005:756ff, Willroth 1996:18ff). One can therefore see a continuation of older traditions and contact relations within the area. However, a regional division in metalwork types cannot be seen in Denmark until Period IB (Vandkilde 1996:250).

Due to practical reasons only the Period IB graves

that contain dateable metal objects have been included in this investigation. There also exist graves without metal objects which date to the Sögel-Wohlde period, for example Kammerbusch, Stade, Lower Saxony (Bergmann 1970 part A:65), but these are not as systematically collected and recorded as the ones containing metal objects in the areas relevant to this study. The focus here is therefore exclusively on the graves with metal objects in order to obtain the most easily comparable material.

The majority of the graves are connected to the male sphere by artefact correlations. I am aware that this is based on old ideas about sex and gender, but if we look at contemporary graves in middle and central Europe with remaining and analysed skeletal material, then we can see that certain artefact categories such as daggers and axes are only found in male burials (Rega 1997:233ff, Wels-Weyrauch et al. 1986:149), while artefacts such as heart-shaped pendants are only found in female graves (Blischke 2000). Therefore, the possible Period IB female graves will be treated and discussed first. These graves will be included in the discussion to determine what implications they have on the interpretations for the period in general. The focus will then turn to the male burial assemblages (i.e. Valsømagle and Sögel-Wohlde), as these are the ones that have given their names to the two different burial traditions.

In total, 247 graves dating to Period IB have been collected from a large part of northern Europe. Burials from Sweden, Denmark, Germany and Holland are included in appendix 1. These graves are clearly identified as Sögel-Wohlde or Valsømagle, or comprise other types of graves within the Sögel-Wohlde or Valsømagle area. In the Valsømagle geographical area there are 69 burials and in the Sögel-Wohlde region there are 172. Six of the burials in the appendix fall outside these geographical boundaries, but contain objects that can be related to one of the two cultures.

Are there any females buried with metal during Period IB?

The presence of possible female graves from Period IB has seldom been discussed. Only a few authors have discussed the earliest Bronze Age female chronology (for example: Broholm 1942II:51ff, Hachmann 1957:54ff, Lomborg 1969:119–132). Hachmann (1957:54ff) discussed the presence of female burials during Period I most extensively, so I have primarily adopted his definitions and interpretations, despite disagreeing with some of his conclusions (see below). Hachmann focuses on the Sögel-Wohlde area and compares it with the 'Danish Islands', where he traced only two possible female burials (each containing only a pin).

Hachmann determines 22 graves that belong to

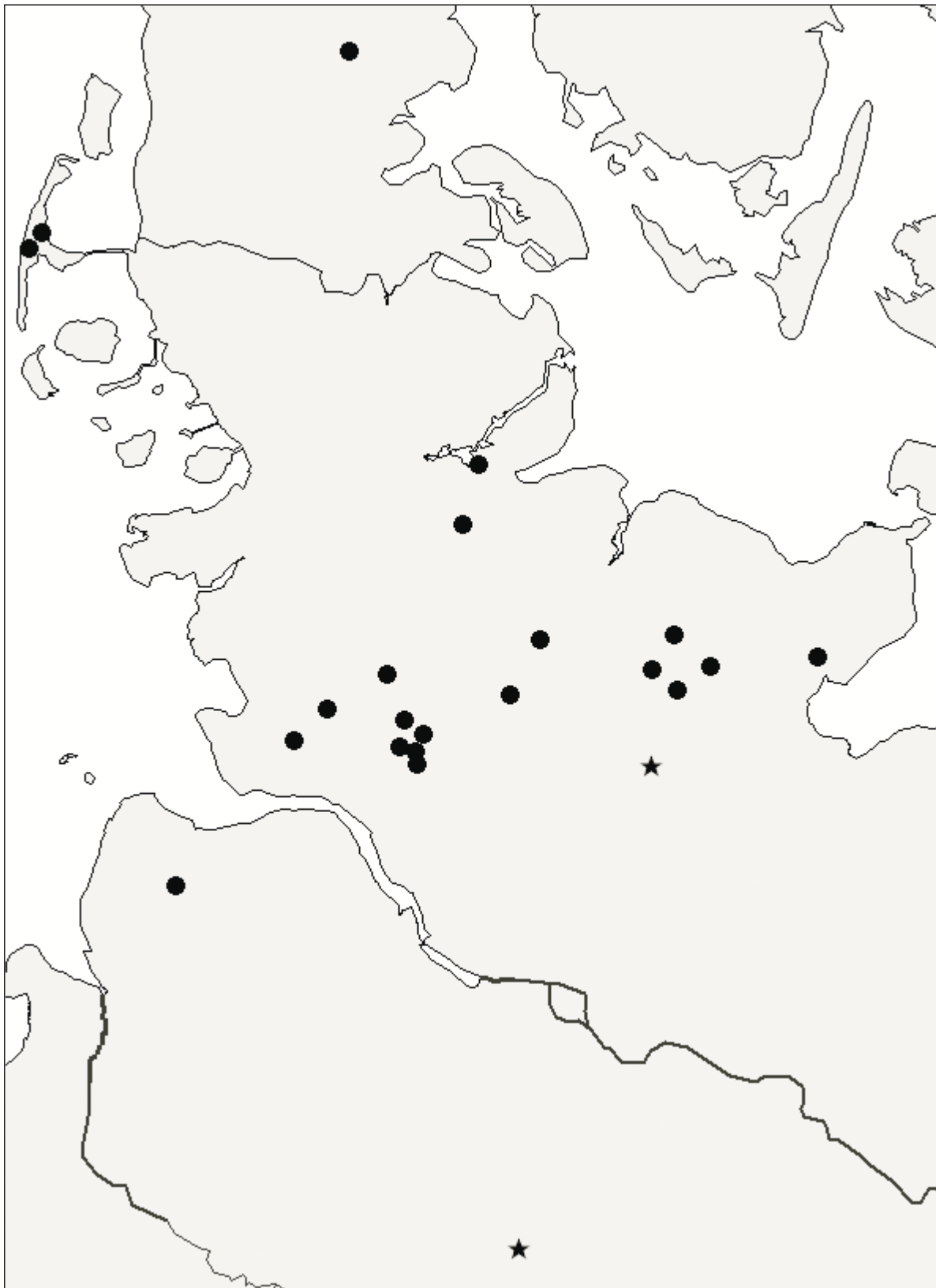


Figure 22: Period IB female burials according to Hachmann (circles and stars); stars = most secure Period IB burials according to the author.

the Sögel-Wohlde phase as female burials (see figure 22). He bases this interpretation on the fact that he identifies some graves as distinctive and different from the ones with traditional Sögel-Wohlde assemblages. He argues that the burial in Schoolbek, Kosel, Rendsburg-Eckernförde, Schleswig-Holstein (Ke2520A, see figure 23), which among other things contains an amber bead, belongs to this phase.

Hachmann's main argument for this is based on the boat-shaped amber bead with V-shaped drilling found in the burial, which he compares with the amber beads in the Period IB burials in: Skodegård, Bække, Anst, Ribe (Ke3789B) and Troelstrup, Tønninge, Trysting, Skanderborg (Va815). On the evidence of these beads he concludes that the burial belonged to the Sögel-Wohlde phase (Hachmann

categories, that in their area of origin have a clear female association, are the only burials that we can with some confidence determine as remains of deceased females.

The burial from Schoolbek, which was interpreted by Hachmann as female, included an amber pendant. Of the 14 graves with a slate pendant twelve include a weapon or weapons of some kind (dagger/sword blade, spearheads, axes or flint arrowheads). The other two graves include artefacts that in later periods have been connected to the male sphere: belt hooks and tweezers (Ke4008B) and a strike-a-light and pyrite (Ke9595B). Therefore, it seems certain that slate pendants ought to be seen as male-related objects, and this is also likely to be true of the amber pendant from Schoolbek, as it is of the same general type as the slate pendants (see figure 25).

Beads are a category that seems to be unisex during this period. For the Germanic Iron Age the number of beads has been seen as indication of biological sex, i.e. more than three beads indicates a female (Petré 1993:151). The number of beads in this material cannot be used to determine biological sex. This is true even though both of the secure female burials from the period include a larger number of amber beads (12 and 19), since clear male burials such as that at Nebel, Nebel, Amrum, Schleswig-Holstein (Ke2579A), a burial with both a short metal-hilted sword and a dagger blade as well as a pin, a high-flanged axe of Hüsby type, flint dagger and pyrite, and an awl, also contained 10 amber beads. According to Thrane (1962:92f) Middle Bronze Age amber beads in Denmark are present in both male and female burials and the norm is 1-2 amber beads in the graves.

Are there any graves other than the ones with clear foreign artefacts that can be interpreted as female burials? Some graves can be interpreted as probably female. The interpretation of these graves as possible female burials is based on a correlation between the two fairly secure female burials, Fahrenkrug and Fallingbostel, and artefact combinations in Continental European graves.

Steffgen (1998:134f) claims that in 'the south' two arm spirals are a secure indicator of a female burial. According to Steffgen, this is also valid in 'the north' and therefore she interprets the burials in Fallingbostel, Fahrenkrug, Hohenlockstedt and Bosau as Period I female graves. As Steffgen has no references to help justify these claims, and there are male burials in later periods that contain two arm-rings, this appears to be a hazardously simplistic method for determining a burial as female.

One grave that should probably be interpreted as a female burial by analogy with middle and central Europe is that in Norddorf, Norddorf, Amrum, Schleswig-Holstein (2617A). It contains a rollheaded

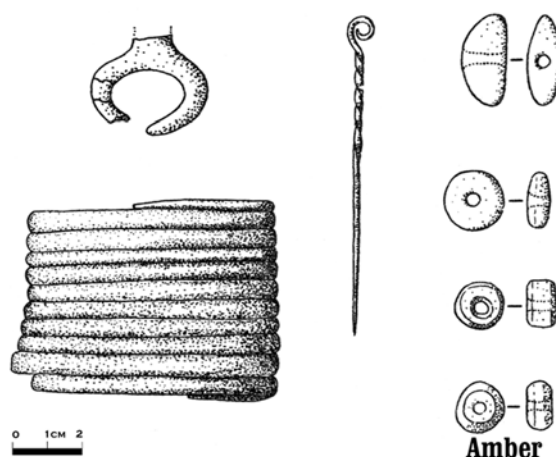


Figure 24: Artefacts found in Fahrenkrug, Seggeberg, Ha174 (from Hachmann 1957: Tafel 15).

pin, two arm-rings, one ankle-ring, five beads, one tutulus and one ceramic vessel. The combination in this burial indicates that it is a late Period IB grave, or possibly very early Period II. Arm-rings are unisex objects during the Bronze Age, while ankle-rings are generally found in female graves (Kubach-Richter 1994:58, Laux 1971:58, Wels-Weyrauch 1989a:120, 1994:63), even though they are occasionally found in male burials such as in the Period III grave in mound 2 am Wittenberg, Bleckmar, Celle, Lower Saxony (Laux 1971:64ff, catalogue 21A). The burial in Norddorf is probably a late Period IB burial. Due to its size it has been interpreted as a possible child burial by Aner and Kersten. However, as discussed in chapter 6, it is difficult to determine graves as those of children by size alone.

Graves such as Ridders, Hohenlockstedt, Steinburg, Schleswig-Holstein (Ke9398D), which include a rollheaded pin and five amber beads, or Fredstedt, Fredstedt, Dithmarschen, Schleswig-Holstein (Ke9101), in which a Kugelkopfnadel and an awl were found, are impossible to sex/gender as pins, amber beads and awls exist in both known male and female burials. In total there are twelve¹¹ burials that cannot be securely determined to either biological sex, including two from the Valsømagle area. These contain smaller objects such as pins, awls and rings, objects that in Period II are unisex and can be found with either biological sex in the Lochham phase in Europe.

As shown here only a few burials during the period can be regarded as female. The only secure burials are the two foreign women (for further discussion about foreign women see chapter 7).¹² There are a maximum of 14 female burials, i.e. 6% of the total burials from the period. In the Sögel-Wohldede area there is a higher presence of secure and possible female burials with metal objects (maximum 7%), while in the Valsømagle area there is a maximum of 3% of female burials of all the burials that contain metal objects. The increase of locally made artefact types, as observed for the males in this period, are totally lacking on the female side. The fe-

¹¹ Ke688F, Ke793A, Ke9614B, Ke2617A, Ke9101, Ke9398D, Ke2716B, Ke2756, Ha 167a, Ha228, Ha232, NNU 42:238f.

¹² Foreign woman, i.e. a woman buried in one area wearing the costume from another geographical area

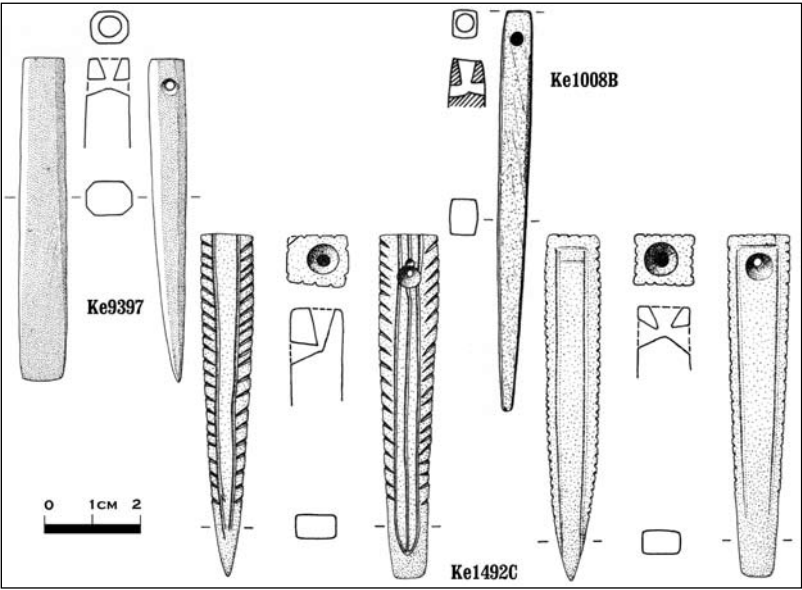


Figure 25: Slate pendants from: grave B sb 7, Sørslev, Skibbinge district, Holbæk County, Ke1008B (from Aner & Kersten 1976: Tafel 61); two from grave C sb 43, Limensgård, Åkirkeby parish, Bornholm County, Ke1492C (from Aner & Kersten 1977: Tafel 21); and Hohenlockstedt, Steinburg, Ke9397 (from Aner & Kersten 1993: Tafel 14).

male innovation of locally made artefacts has to wait until the next period, when an explosion of different female artefacts (similar to that of the males in the preceding period) occurs at the beginning of Period II. In many other parts of Europe this upsurge of locally made artefacts, both on the female and male side, occurs much earlier, i.e. at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, as can be seen, for example, in the Franzhausen I cemetery (Neugebauer & Neugebauer 1997). Why the expansion of locally made objects differs from area to area is difficult to say. However, it appears that the strong influence of one specific foreign woman can change a local picture. This can be seen in the Lüneburg Heath in the burial from Fallingbostel, where the woman buried there had a direct impact on access to bronze and the appearance of subsequent generations of women.

Valsømagle region

In the Valsømagle region of the burial tradition, i.e. Blekinge, Scania (Sweden) the Danish Isles and Northern Jutland, there are 69 graves containing metal objects dated to Period IB.

According to Vandkilde this zone “is characterised by burials with metal-hilted daggers and swords of Valsømagle type (or daggers and swords related to this type), and the closely associated spearheads of Valsømagle type and flanged axes of Märklingen-Valsømagle type; these main weapons may be accompanied by one or more luxury goods, of which ferrules, pointed weapons and y-palstaves apparently occur solely in Zone I” (Vandkilde 1996:252, see figure 26).

As previously shown by Vandkilde (1996:291f) the grave material shows a marked differentiation in the amount of bronze deposited in the burials. The burial in Over Vindinge, Sværdborg, Hammer, Præstø (Ke1292I) is counted as a grave that contained metal objects, but the metal is in this case not a part of the burial assemblage, but the cause of death (see chapter 5), and therefore this burial will not be counted in the discussion about differentiation in wealth. One can see (table 3.1) that the large majority of burials only contain one metal object¹³ and that there is a gradual decrease in the numbers for many objects. Nevertheless, it is clear that a few individuals were buried with a large number of metal objects. There seems to be some kind of hierarchical structure in the society reflected by the metal objects found in the graves.

The most common object that accompanied the deceased into the grave is the dagger/sword, with 36 of the 68 graves containing a dagger/sword, followed by axes and spearheads. One can say that most of the men followed the warrior ethos that Vandkilde (1996:294) sees as developing during the

Tabel 3.1 Relationship between the number of metal objects in the graves between the two different zones

	nr of graves with 1 metal object		nr of graves with 2 metal objects		nr of graves with 3-5 metal objects		nr of graves with 6 or more metal objects		total number of graves
		%		%		%		%	
Valsømagle	48	71	9	13	8	12	3	4	68
Sögel-Wohlde	107	62	38	22	22	13	5	3	172
Total number of graves	155	64	47	20	30	13	8	3	240

period. One could argue that some of the wealthiest men seem to have already accepted a warrior ideal similar to the one suggested by Treherne (1995, see chapter 5). Examples of this are the burial in Dyssegård, Grundsømagle, Sømmø, København (Ke4511) or Strandved, Bovense, Vindinge, Svendborg (Ke2144C). However, there is also another male ideal shown, one where no weapons were deposited in the burial, only clothing-related and body-changing artefacts, such as belt hooks and tweezers. Belt hooks are found in 20 burials (see figure 27) from the Mälär Valley to Lower Saxony. The majority of these (13), however, are found within the Valsømagle region. The example in Lower Saxony is found together with a Valsømagle spearhead, so it can probably be related to a man who originated in the Danish Isles. Twelve are found together with weapons, one with a flint dagger and the remaining seven are found either alone or with other clothing/appearance-related objects. This indicates that at least two different male categories existed, even though the warrior ideal is clearly the dominant one.

We can see that there are no clear sets of rules in the burial assemblage combinations. The graves that only contain one metal object can have, for example, a dagger/sword, an axe, a spearhead or a pin. In the nine burials with two objects the combination of a dagger and belt hook is the most common one. However, beyond this it is hard to see a general pattern in the material.

The distribution of the burials is over a wide area. Only four parishes have more than one Period IB burial with metal objects, and one of these is on the boundary between the two different burial traditions. Only in Bovense parish on Funen do we find two burials with three or more metal objects in the burials. This is the only area where we can see that wealth in metal objects may possibly have been maintained over two generations. Vandkilde argues that the social elite we see in the burials in this area have an individual base and are fairly exclusive (Vandkilde 1996:290ff). Otherwise in this area individuals seem to be able to acquire metal objects, and possibly status from them, while the subsequent generation appears not to have kept the same pace in acquiring bronze and its associated status. Therefore it seems most likely that the burial record here is showing one-off achievements of individuals. Vandkilde (1996:291f) argues that here we see a new group manifesting itself against an old elite/ideal. This may very well be true, but it appears that single individuals could temporarily overcome this system. However, the old system survives these individual attempts to change the social structure. Therefore one can argue that it took longer, up to Period II, for this new structure to finally become more or less accepted in this region,

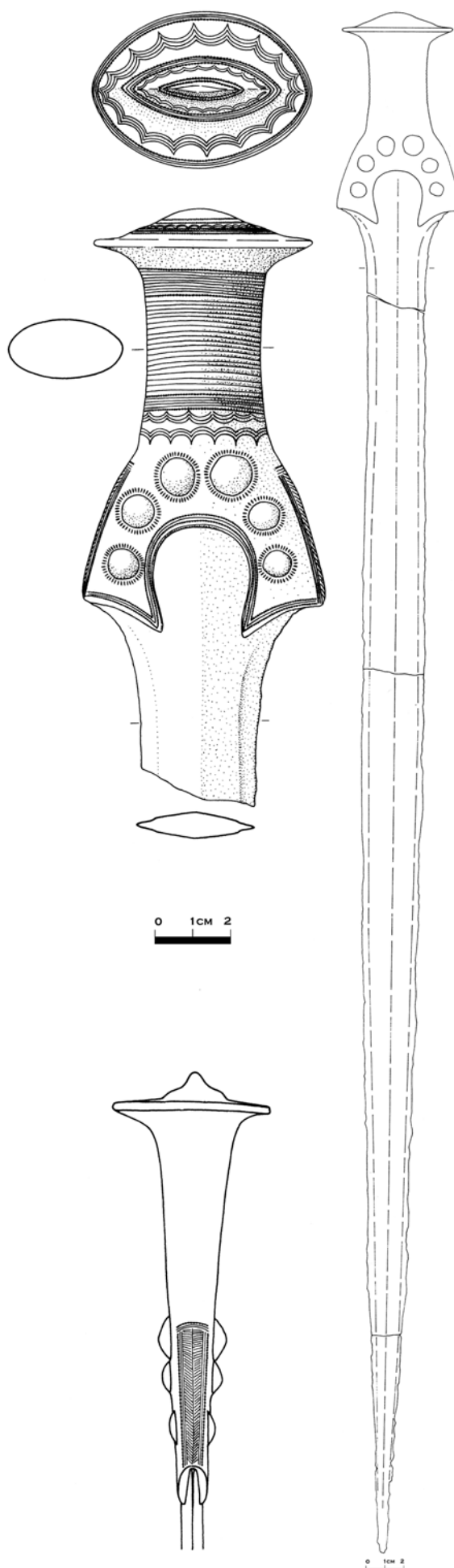


Figure 26: Valsømagle sword from the Valsømagle hoard, Haraldsted, Ringsted, Sorø, Ke1098 (from Aner & Kersten 1976: Tafel 80).

¹³ A dagger/sword with a metal pommel is counted as one object.



Figure 27: Distribution map of Period IB belt hooks.

perhaps even later in some areas. This new ideal, which was probably inspired by Continental European cultures, included the use of bronze objects as status symbols. It was most likely actively opposed by the 'old guard' elite who had their power base in flint production (Apel 2001 chapter 10). The Valsømagle region and the Limfjord area (which is a border area between the two burial traditions) were the main areas of flint production, as noted by Apel (2001:272f). Therefore there would have been particularly strong resistance to the new emphasis on bronze as the main material for enhancing status in these areas.

As seen in figure 28 there are clear differences in the distribution of Valsømagle and Sögel and Wohlde daggers/swords in the burial material. It is only in the border zone that we can find daggers of different types in burials in close vicinity. This indicates that the group of people who used the metal objects to enhance their status and tried to introduce the new ideology saw themselves as part of a unified group despite discontinuity in the geographical area and time. They tried to reform the society in which they lived without trying to separate themselves from the surrounding areas with a

similar background.

Materials that can be related to the Valsømagle region are found in graves both in Säby, Södermanland and Ehestorf, Niedersachsen. The belt hook found in Säby has been dated to Period II (Feldt 2005:62, Thedéen 2004:90). It is, however, of a clear Period IB type and should probably be related to the Valsømagle region. In Södermanland most Middle Bronze Age objects found in cairns have been found together with cremated bones (Thedéen 2004:90). It seems clear that the burial traditions in southern and middle Scandinavia are fairly different during the Middle Bronze Age (for the Mälär Valley see Feldt 2005, Thedéen 2004). How and why one grave in the Mälär Valley holds a Valsømagle object is difficult to understand, although perhaps it may represent a Late Neolithic attempt to introduce a more southern way of living, an introduction that did not work. It might be compared with the suggested transition from a Funnel Beaker Culture way of life to the more hunter-gatherer type lifestyle of the Pitted Ware Culture as described in Närke by Graner and Karlenby (2007). Or, perhaps it should be seen as an object that moved within the old flint exchange networks.¹⁴ The belt hook found in Barva is of a type similar to the ones found in Erdrup, Sorø (Ke1130); Særlev, Holbæk (Ke1008B); and Sigerslevester, Fredriksborg (Ke187), although the one found in Barva is simpler than the ones found on Zealand.

Conclusion

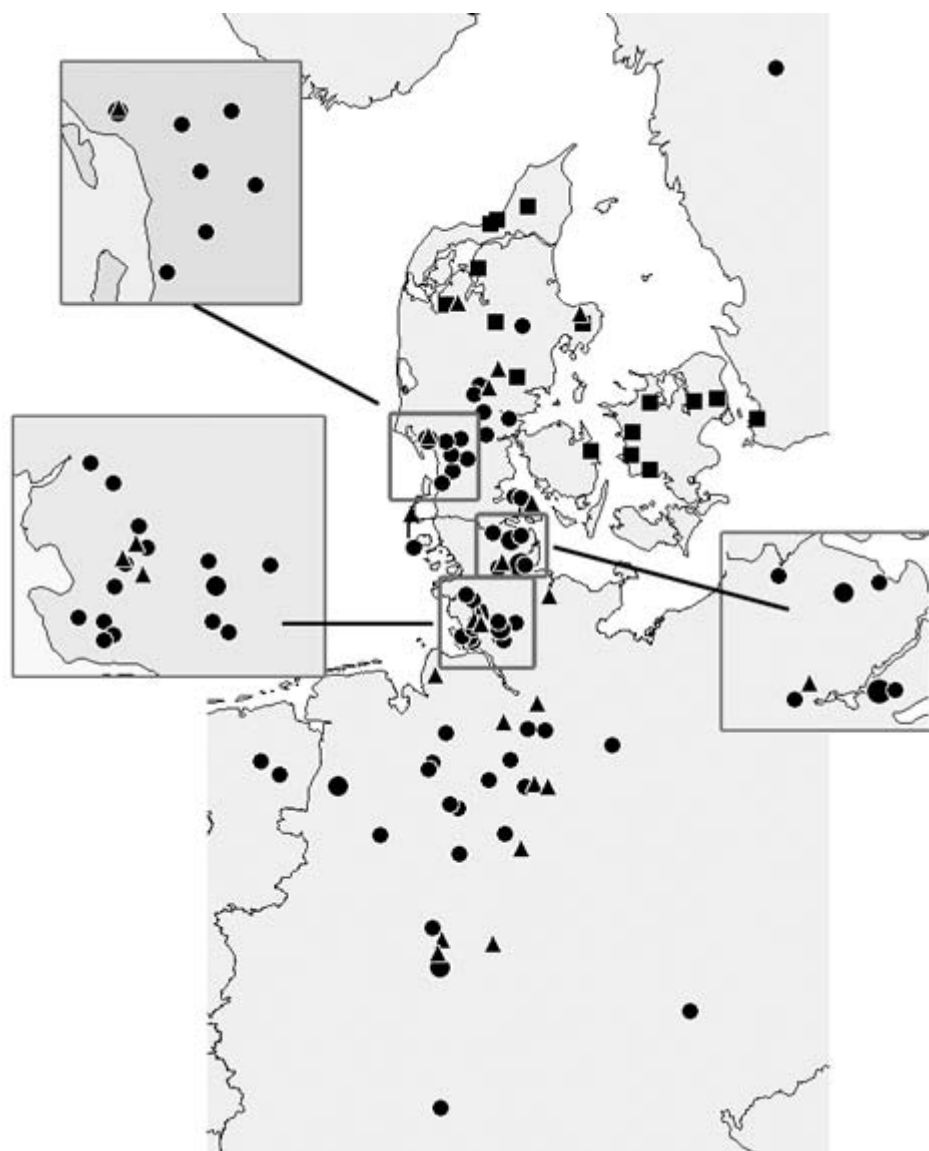
Vandkilde (1996:291f) has argued that there is a marked differentiation of wealth and rank apparent in the burials from the Valsømagle area; she argues that there existed a group of people who manifested a social separation from traditional society. She maintains that these new groups of individual male elites manifested their new ideal in the Valsømagle objects, partly as the style is not conventional, but rather innovative. This new style, she contends, seems to have been important in order to proclaim the social distance from the old socially dominant group. As shown above this group did not achieve this separation particularly quickly, and it seems to have happened on an individual basis rather than on a family or kin level. The main male ideal seems to have been a warrior ideal, as demonstrated by the presence of weapons in the burials. The other graves with bronze objects such as belt hooks and tweezers, or just pins, may be a male ideal that was more closely related to the old society, or a third movement within the society. If this new warrior ideal was created on individual actions rather than on kinship and old traditions this might explain the 'lack' of female burials with metal ob-

¹⁴ Apel argues that distribution of flint to the Mälär Valley went from Zealand via Scania up to the Mälär Valley (Apel 2001:figure 9:17).

jects. This group of people also seems to have been open to different European influences as seen in the lack of uniformity in sets and combinations of burial gifts. One may say that it took c. 100 years of experimenting until they got it right and managed to set their ideal as the dominant ideology in the community.

Sögel-Wohlde region

According to Vandkilde, "Zone II is characterised by burials with organic-hilted daggers or swords of Sögel and Wohlde type, secondarily nick-flanged axes of Fritzlar type, flanged axes of Hüsby type, and more occasionally a spearhead of Bagterp type" (Vandkilde 1996:252). Burials with Sögel or Wohlde dagger/sword can be found over a large area in northern Europe (see figure 28). South western Schleswig-Holstein (Dithmarschen) should be seen as the centre of the group based on the distribution of burials with either a Sögel or a Wohlde dagger/blade. It has previously been argued that Lower Saxony is the main area for the Sögel-Wohlde group and its swords/daggers. Sprockhoff argues for this based on grave contents in Lower Saxony, which are more complex than the ones in Schleswig-Holstein. He acknowledges that there are more swords/daggers found in Schleswig-Holstein than in Lower Saxony, but does not see this as a reason for reconsidering the place of origin of the Sögel blades (Sprockhoff 1927:133). I disagree with this conclusion. It seems that the origin of the Sögel and Wohlde blades is somewhere in Schleswig-Holstein, or alternatively in southernmost Jutland. If one takes into consideration the distribution of the grave material, one will find that areas within the abovementioned regions show a larger concentration of Period IB graves. In Lower Saxony, however, there are few places with more than one grave from the period (see below). Also relevant to this is the hypothesis that Schleswig-Holstein and southernmost Jutland were centres for sword manufacturing for the Nordic region during later Bronze Age periods. It is assumed the swords were made by highly specialized bronze smiths in, for example, south-eastern Sønderjylland, Denmark, whereas bronze-working specialists in the local area made other weapons, tools and jewellery (Rønne 1993:77ff). Dithmarschen and Steinburg have the largest concentrations of dagger



blades, whereas areas such as Bohnert, Sörup and Wünnenberg show a continuity through the period and might rather be centres of power, or at least places where dominance over some people was inherited over a few generations. There are 23 graves dating to Period IB found in Dithmarschen, 17 of these contain only one metal object each, four contain two objects and two burials have three metal artefacts. Even though there are graves from other areas with more metal objects, the concentration of so many graves containing metal objects from Period IB must be important.

In this area we have a slightly different relationship between the numbers of metal objects in the burials (see table 3.1). There are more graves with 2-5 objects than in the Valsømagle region. Here we also find combinations of sets, e.g. a dagger/sword combined with an axe is the most common combination. The type of axe depends on where in the region one is buried. The Fritzlar type is most common in Lower Saxony, whereas the Hüsby type axe is found in Schleswig-Holstein, except for one ex-

Figure 28: Distribution of burials with Valsømagle, Sögel and Wohlde blades with provenance known to parish. q = Valsømagle blades; s = Wohlde blades (small = one grave with a blade; medium = two graves with a blade); l = Sögel blades (small = one grave with a blade, medium = two graves with a blade, large = three graves with a blade).

ample found in Åbenrå County.

One can also see other regional differences, for example the bow and arrow are commonly seen in Lower Saxony. Bergmann (1970:27) shows that different weapon combinations can be seen in the burial material in Lower Saxony. The main difference is in the occurrence of long distance weapons. In North Hannover, the South Heath, and Weser-Ems area the bow and arrow are preferred, whereas in the Ilmenau area spears are chosen. Slate pendants exist, for example, only in Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein, while no slate pendant has been found together with metal objects in Lower Saxony.

The graves with the highest number of metal artefacts are the two foreign females, the burial in Fallingbommel with 107 objects made out of bronze, and Fahrenkrug with its seven metal objects. This is closely followed by the possible female burial in Hohenlockstedt (Ke9393A). The man with a possible background in the Valsømagle (Ehestorf) and a burial in Delbrück, Westfalen each have six objects.

Some of the richest metal Sögel-Wohlde burials are found outside the traditional core area. For example, the burial in Schneiderwald, Ober-Mörlen, Wetterau, Hessen contains one Sögel dagger, one Fritzlar axe, one Lochhalsnadel, five tutuli and a gold wire (Kubach 1973:403) and the burial in Drouwen, Borger, Drenthe, Holland contains a Sögel dagger, a Fritzlar axe, nine flint arrowheads, one flint strike-a-light, two gold spirals and one whetstone (Butler 1986:149f). Maybe these are the remains of successful men from the Sögel-Wohlde area, especially the Lüneburg Heath, who for some reason or other moved outside their area of origin. These are not, however, the only Sögel-Wohlde men found outside their area of origin. In Thierschneck, Eisenberg, Thüringen (Kubach 1973:403); Zeijen, Fries, Drenthe, Holland (Hachmann 1957: catalogue nr 638); and Kullabro, Gudhem, Västergötland, Sweden (Sarauw & Alin 1923:234) are objects that can be related to the Sögel-Wohlde burial tradition, and these graves indicate an active culture. The social ranking system in the region may have been fairly strict and the display of status metal objects outside the norm may have only been permitted in new or foreign areas, or for foreign women who brought the objects with them.

Conclusion

The region seems to have a number of long-lived centres, and in some smaller areas we see two to four Period IB burials with metal objects. These might not be the ones with the most bronze objects, but some show a standardised combination. Each of the three burials in Bohnert, Schleswig-Holstein contains a Sögel dagger. This indicates some kind of structural stability. Other areas with three graves

from the period are Sörup, Flensburg, Schülup and with four burials Neben and Wünneberg. For the Bronze Age an average life expectancy has been suggested of about 30 years, up to 45 if one survived to adulthood (Harding 2000:378). If we accept this as true then 3×30 gives 90 years (or $3 \times 45 = 135$ years), this more or less covers the full length of Period IB, i.e. we have a family/kinship group that has been able to maintain its social position for about c. 100 year. The large number of places with two metal-bearing burials such as Tudegård, Glüsing, Sögel and Tinnum might have been developed just one generation after the other places, or were not able to keep the position for three generations.

One could argue that the presence of sets of objects, even though there are slight regional variations, indicates institutionalised hierarchical structures/principles. The long-lived centres of power where these hierarchical centres could act might help to explain the presence of the two bronze-rich foreign women. This higher level of stability probably facilitated the creation of networks and contacts with high status families/kin in other European areas. If this hierarchical structure is based on kinship/inheritance it might also help to explain why the first possible/probable female graves are found in this area. If exchange networks and power are centred on a few families in the area then they may have started displaying their status to other family members not in positions of power, for example their wives or daughters. It is this need or potential to show their status to more family members that led to this. The women in stable social situations also had a greater possibility to create and use their own network systems than women in less stable areas or situations. One might be able to associate the beginning of visualising and displaying status to all family members to the start of the development of locally-made female-associated objects during Period II.

Ending and starting an era

The Sögel-Wohlde culture seems to have had a more expansive cultural ideology than the Valsømagle region. This can, for example, be seen in the graves from Schneiderwald and Thierschneck (Kubach 1973), where simpler or more complex Sögel-Wohlde burials have taken place far from the original area. Jockenhövel's study of foreign women in Central Europe is interesting in this respect, where he shows the average movement of women was between 50–200 km, and only a few moved beyond 200 km from their original area (Jockenhövel 1991:60). According to Vogt (2004:82) the daggers from Bierde, Minden-Lübbecke, Nordrehien-Westfalen and the one from Schneiderwald come from the same series. The grave from Schneiderwald is comparatively rich with its many bronze objects as

well as one gold object (Kubach 1973:403f). The axe here indicates connections to the Lüneburg Heath area. The reason for the few artefacts in the grave in Bierde might be due to the fact that it was found in a ploughed out layer (Günter 1974), and that there might have been other smaller objects with it that were not recovered. The distance between Bierde and Schneiderwald is c. 220 km. The dagger blades from Thierschneck, Bockel, Bokeloh, Garstorf and Helmste are another important series (Vogt 2004:82), and the distances between Thierschneck and Bockel, Garstorf, Helmste are all over 270 km (only c. 230 km between Thierschneck and Bokeloh). The Sögel blade in Kullabro is found well over 400 km from its probable area of origin. This indicates contacts between different areas of over 270 km, well over Jockenhövel's suggested distances. The female burials in Fallingbostel, and probably also the one in Fahrenkrug, demonstrate relations over very long distances. The former burial involved movement across a distance of over 800 km (Daum 2000:233). It seems that Period IB was a time for real long distance travel and exploration, as indicated by the Schniederwald and Fallingbostel burials.

The lack of visible females seems to be a common north European phenomenon for the period 1700-1600 BC. Kubach (1977:22) writes, for example, that in Hessen and Rheinhessen few certain female graves are known from the Lochham phase. This differs widely from the Central European area where many female burials are present in the material (Hundt 1958:18-29, Krause 1988:105, 114). This pattern might help to explain later similarities in female costume (see chapter 4).

As shown above we can see that in the Sögel-Wohlde region there are fairly regulated sets of burial assemblages, something which is lacking in the Valsømagle region. In the latter area we can see an experimental mentality emerging concerning different artefact combinations and object types. Razors, tweezers, belt hooks etc. are tested out and combined in different ways in different graves, and there seem to be no right or single way to do things. The lack of institutionalised hierarchical structures might have allowed for this wide exploration of ways to show and introduce the new European influences into the Valsømagle area. The formalised system that might go back further in time in the Sögel-Wohlde area might have hindered or delayed the acceptance of the new ways of showing status and identity that were created in Europe.

It is possible that it is a merge between these two cultures, the non-fixed, exploring Valsømagle area with the organised, regulated and institutionalised Sögel-Wohlde culture, that led to what became the so-called Nordic Bronze Age Culture. The institutions of the Sögel-Wohlde region were slowly accepted in the Valsømagle region and the experi-

mentation with form and shape in the Valsømagle area led to the new style of bronze objects that is so characteristic for southern Scandinavia.

It is hard to fully understand why the borders between the different areas move from the Århus-Lemvig line to the River Elbe. As indicated above the Lüneburg area was probably a smaller unit within the larger Sögel-Wohlde group. This can be seen in artefact combinations in the graves (for detailed discussion about the weaponry and costume see Laux 1996a&b) that seem similar. It has been shown here that the combination of Sögel dagger/sword and Fritzlar axe is most common, while the presence of a bow and arrow also separate the area from its neighbours. Maybe this local unit had some kind of crises during the latter phases of Period IB. The woman buried in Fallingbostel probably in one way or another influenced this change. She must have played an important role in the society, as her costume came to be the inspiration for the clothing of subsequent generations of women in the area (see chapter 4).

4. Gendered burial traditions: an analysis of local and regional patterns

The theoretical framework concerning the relationship between the body, sex, gender and clothing will first be discussed in this chapter. There will then be a discussion about textile, dress ornamentation and cultural belonging, followed by a discussion of the historical setting of textile and its position in prehistoric society. The focus will then turn to the material from oak-log coffin graves, which will be assessed following Sørensen's (1991, 1997) criteria for studying appearance. The last part of the chapter deals with four case studies followed by a concluding discussion.

Dress, appearance and cultural change

Body, sex, gender and clothing

The widely accepted definition of gender in archaeology as put forward by Conkey and Gero (1991:8) builds on the belief that biological sex is fixed, but that gender roles and identity are culturally constructed. The view that biological sex is fixed has been debated since the 1990s. Laqueur (1990) has shown in his book, *"Making Sex. Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud"*, that the view of 'man' and 'woman' as two separate biological sexes is quite new to modern western societies. He argues that both sex and gender are constructed. According to Laqueur, two models of biological sex have existed contemporaneously in western history of science. Firstly, there is the one-sex model, which views woman as a less complete man where the difference between male and female is a question of gradation. This was the 'leading' theory until the eighteenth century AD. Subsequently, the two-sex model gained prominence. This sees men and women as biologically different and starts to explain behaviour from a biological standpoint. Behaviour of the different sexes came to be viewed as natural and universal.

Modern biological feminists have pointed out that human individuals do not fit into the categories of 'man' and 'woman' that have been created by medical science. They view the separation of humans into male and female categories only as a practical social construction. Rather, the key issue, in their opinion, is to explain how the physiological complexity fits into the social dichotomy. Here they refer to the treatment of the so-called intersexed chil-

dren, who are medically created into 'real' boys or girls, depending on whether a penis could be constructed or not (Kaplan & Rogers 1990).

Judith Butler (1993) sees both gender and biological sex as constructed, i.e. she does not want to separate sex from gender in her analysis. She has partly based this on her view that the ideal construction of sex and gender is materialised on the body through the lifetime of the individual. According to Butler, one cannot separate the effects of 'sex' and 'gender' on the body. She follows Foucault's view that sex and sexuality are determined by the dominant discourses (Foucault 1979). Both Butler (1993) and Foucault (1979) argue that the dominant discourse view on biological sex (and sexuality) are internalised in the individual human body and thereby become natural.

Nordbladh and Yates (1990) have at an early stage in archaeological gender research tried to develop a debate about sex and gender in the discipline. They agree with Butler's view that there is no sense in trying to divide sex from gender. They cannot see any "Virgin Surface" where power between the sexes is absent; according to them the penis is at an early stage valued over the vagina. The authors argue that the knowledge of sexual difference is an acquired knowledge and that sex is cultural as well. They point out that there are more than two sexes and that man and woman are only the two extremes on a scale. They try to expand sex and gender to a more diverse structure by pointing out that there are about 13 different sexes (xx and xy combinations), some of which are only seen in laboratories. They differ widely from Butler in their view on sexuality, which they seem to confuse with biological sex. In this confusion of biological sex and sexuality, they bring in Freud and other modern western ideas about sexuality (active and passive in pleasure) and view this to be grafted onto gender. The authors' intention to expand gender and sex categories within the archaeological debate is probably sound and much needed. In their confusion of biological sex with sexuality, however, they reproduce a very bourgeois, stereotypical view of the relations between the sexes (i.e. active and passive). Butler on the other hand is a radical lesbian feminist who tries to work away from these stereotypical views. Sofaer (2006:23) has criticised this view on sex, gender and the body. She points out

that in archaeological interpretations the impacts of accumulated experience over the life course often are missing. The embodied approach to archaeology has often neglected to look at the bodily remains and the impact the individual's life had on the body (Sofaer 2006: chapter 2).

Moore points out that anthropological research has suggested that the difference between man and woman which individuals in non-western cultures naturalise, and locate in their body and in features of the physical and cosmological environment, are not necessarily those on which we in the western discourse base our categorisation. For example, in Nepal the difference between the male and the female is conceived as that of a difference between bone and flesh. These differences of gender are thought to be located in all bodies and therefore the distinction between the biological sexes collapses. Both the male (bone) and the female (flesh) are seen as necessary features of all bodily identities. She also refers to ethnographic material that suggests that gender categorisations often are based on roles, on what we do, rather than on our anatomy. Thus, the author thinks that instead of using categories such as sex, gender, sexual difference and the body as a starting point for our research, we should instead investigate these concepts more closely (Moore 1994:13, 24-27). One could argue that the Nepal view on biological sex differences is related to the earlier European view as just difference by gradation. Sofaer (2006:105ff) has pointed out that what we do in our lives sometimes leaves physical traces. There is therefore potential for archaeologists to identify gendered differences based on skeletal remains and the body.

Moore is correct in arguing that these concepts need much more work and that they cannot be taken for granted. The relationship between them may vary from one culture to another. I disagree with Butler's, Nordbladh's and Yates' opinions that we should not separate biological sex from gender. It seems most likely that gender differences can both cross 'seen' biological differences and change through the lifetime of an individual. There is ethnographic evidence showing that female anthropologists are viewed as something different, not as a man or woman, but as non-people. Gewertz, while studying the Tchambuli, was seen by the men in the men's house as a strange creature that probably was not a woman at all. She was thought to have grown male genitals by wearing trousers, thus becoming a hermaphrodite. This affected their view of her husband and daughter. The daughter the Tchambuli men thought they had bought from a stranger. This should indicate that biological sex cannot be seen as the essence at the core of personal identity. Rather, one can see that performance is important in many indigenous gender models. In

these, the physical characteristics are seen as signs or effects of sexual differences. Among the Hua people of Papua New Guinea their external anatomical features classify the individuals as male or female, but they are also classified on the basis of the amount of certain male and female substances present in their body. These substances are believed to be transferred between the sexes through heterosexual sex, eating and other everyday contact. This means that an individual's gender changes over one's lifetime (Moore 1994:23f, 38). Another example of a non-Western way to categorise sex and gender occurs within the Nuer society in East Africa, where differences between male and female relate to their capacity for fertility. A female who appears to be sterile can set up her own house and do all the traditional male tasks and even take one or two wives (Shilling 1993:54). This should indicate that biological sex and gender both can and cannot be separated, depending on the culture. Therefore everyone at the start of their research must keep these two categories (biological sex and gender) as separate, but flexible, analytical tools. In some cultures/studies they can later be merged into one, whereas in others they will stay separate. However, it is important to remember that they affect each other (Sofaer 2006:60).

Sofaer (2006) argues that it is important, wherever possible, to study both the archaeological artefacts and the body together. This is important to keep in mind as they are related to each other. However, due to the lack of skeletal remains in the material included in this study it is difficult to seriously study biological sex as a category for itself, or how the lives of the Middle Bronze Age south Scandinavians affected the body. What is left in most cases is a part of the performed gender. In some cases it is hard for us to make out which category the deceased belonged to, but this would not have been the case for those attending the funeral as the clothing and accessories would have indicated this. The group of people that for us appears to be androgynous would most likely not have been this in the prehistoric past. Perhaps a real androgynous group existed, but so far we have no positive archaeological evidence of this. As there appears to be more than one type of male and female outfit (see below), Göransson's (1999:10f) idea of variations of male and femaleness has been adopted instead of seeing the variations as entirely different genders. It seems more reasonable to discuss a number of male and female identities rather than a greater

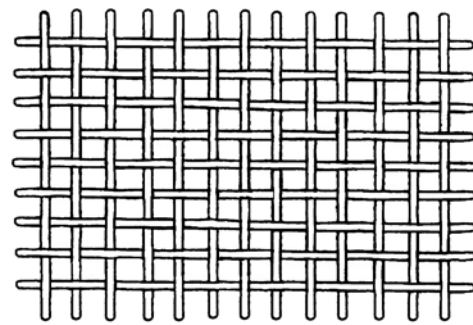


Figure 29: Tabby drawn by Ida Demant

number of separate genders. There might be a difference in costume and responsibility for an unmarried woman and a married woman, for example. However, they are both females and can probably be seen as inhabiting different stages in the human life course (see chapter 6). It has been pointed out that even though variations in expressions of sex exist, these are distributed primarily within two categories rather than evenly among the spectra (Sofaer 2006:94ff). In this study gender is seen through different social roles that are related to biological sex. In addition, gender is not viewed as static, but as something that might shift and change through an individual's life course.

The focus of this investigation into dress from the Bronze Age has mainly been on overall appearance. In order to understand the medium within which appearance acts, Sørensen has divided the total appearance into separate parts: cloth - the textile itself; clothing - garments created from the cloth; and costume - the assemblage of clothing, ornaments, and dress fittings (Sørensen 1991, 1997). Sørensen's categories for appearance analysis are a very useful tool, and will be applied in the study below. It is also important to remember to view the body as three dimensional and physical. If we keep this in mind it will prevent us from only focusing on the visual impact, mainly from the front, which the individual would have had. It is also important to remember that there is more to appearance than the visual and that we need to conduct separate analyses on the impact of touch and sound. Hands-on analysis of cloth for example, will determine if it is soft or stiff; and, as a part of an analysis concerning touch, one should not forget that the feel of the cloth is just a part of the sensation of touch. In modern times sound is an important way of signalling information; it is not always what you say but how you say it, i.e. in the case of dialects, which matters. Obviously, we can never reach this level of interpretation in archaeology, but there are other sounds that are related to the appearance of the individual that signal different messages. A modern day example would be the use of stiletto shoes versus trainers: a person walking in stiletto shoes gives a very different impression from one walking in trainers, even if the rest of his/her outfit is the same. In the Scandinavian Bronze Age bronze tubes were fastened on some corded skirts as seen, for example, in the Ølby grave, and these probably made a distinctive sound. Some of the headdresses from the Lüneburg area, the ones with added bronze tubes, could probably also be viewed as having created a distinct sound. Odour and taste are more difficult to access within the archaeological record, but artefacts associated with cleanliness might give us ideas about the importance of odour in prehistoric times. Red hematite has been found in some Middle Bronze Age

burials in connection with knives, tweezers, razors and awls. The stone can be pulverised and used to make red powder that can be used as 'make up'. It is found both in male and female burials (Strömberg 1975b:37, Thrane 1962:87, 1981:32). This indicates that some form of body 'make-up' was worn at least occasionally. Movements can also be rather challenging to understand from the archaeological record. When we are given clues about prehistoric movements of different people we must take the opportunity to analyse them; we can explore prehistoric movement through, for example, the central European Bronze Age pair of ankle rings united by a chain (Sørensen 1997, Wels-Weyrauch 1989a). Sofaer (2006:84) writes "as archaeologists we are familiar with the idea that objects are created by people... we are perhaps less routinely aware of the ways that people are literally created by objects and the material world, although the implications of this are profound". With this in mind, and by studying the artefacts connected to the body, one can also say something about the body and the society it lived within, even when the actual body and physical remains are missing.

Textiles, dress ornaments, and cultural belonging

History of textiles and clothing

The art of weaving appeared in the Near East around the beginning of the Neolithic. All the earliest fabric is made out of flax; it is therefore likely that the technique for making flax into textiles was also invented in the Near East. The innovation can be seen in the Neolithic in Central Europe. It does not, however, reach northern Europe. Here leather and fur seem to have prevailed as the most important clothing material. Bender Jørgensen has argued that this might relate to the properties of linen rather than agricultural difficulties, i.e. in cultivating flax. Woolen textiles can be found in the archaeological record from the Chalcolithic. This innovation also seems to occur in the Near East, but this time knowledge of it soon reached Northern Europe. Bender Jørgensen argues that wool, leather and fur are good for the same purpose, i.e. to keep cold and humidity away, and therefore would have appealed more to the people living in Northern Europe. She argues that wool is a warm, soft, insulating and water repellent material, whereas linen is a cool, stiff and smooth fabric (Bender Jørgensen 1992:116).

Harding (2000:255) argues that there are extraordinarily few finds of textiles from the Bronze Age in comparison to the Neolithic finds. This, he explains, is because of changes in textile manufacture from plant fibres to wool. According to Harding, the difference in preservation condition between

¹⁵ A woven fabric consists of two sets of threads – warp and weft – woven together at right angles to each other. Tabby is the simplest technique, where the weft only passes over and under one warp thread at a time. In twill-weaving, the weft will pass over and under two or more warp-threads, thus creating patterns of diagonal lines in the fabric.

¹⁶ Whether a yarn is s- or z-spun depends on the direction the spindle was rotating in – clockwise or anticlockwise – when spinning the wool (Broholm & Hald 1935:298).

¹⁷ It has been claimed that remains of material made of silk have been found in a Period III burial from Mecklenburg (Randsborg 2006:25f, Scherping 2004:55, Schmidt 2004:130f). If true, this would be a spectacular and otherwise unparalleled find, but unfortunately the identification cannot be verified at present based on the available published information.

¹⁸ However, on her map on page 17 and in her catalogue there are two s/s-spun textiles from the "Valsømagle" region (Bender Jørgensen catalogue number BD 21E & DB 36).

¹⁹ The authors have chosen to write the combinations differently z/s and s/z when they speak of the type in general. Some of the textiles have z-spun yarn in the warp and s-spun yarn in the weft and others have the opposite. I have chosen to write s/z in the text.

the two different fabric types (see chapter 1) is the reason for the difference in preserved material between the two periods. Leading textile researchers, however, seem to have a different opinion. Bender Jørgensen (1992:116f) has, for example, divided Bronze Age Europe into different textile tradition areas. The big difference is that northern Europe tended to use woollen fabric while southern and Central Europe used textiles made out of flax. This could be a result of the differences in preservation environment in various European areas. However, it is hardly likely that linen was used in significant quantities in south Scandinavia, as the mounds in the eastern parts of the area are more likely to have preserved linen, and there are no known linen remains there. There is, however, at least one case of a textile fragment that was probably made of linen, a Period II grave from Vaale in Schleswig-Holstein (Ehlers 1998:468). An urn and some artefacts were wrapped in linen cloth in the Late Bronze Age burial (Period V) from Lusehøj (Thrane 1984b:16). Wool might have been a more commonly used material in southern and Central Europe than the archaeological remains show since, for example, tooth analysis of sheep from Hungary (Szazhalombatta) show that they had been kept up to old age, indicating that they had been used for their wool (Pers. comm. Sabine Sten 2005-06-15). One can also see a difference in weaving technique: in Scandinavia and the North European lowland coarse wool tabbies¹⁵ (see figure 29) were produced; while in Central Europe it was mainly linen tabbies in 2-ply yarn; in Britain and Ireland woollen fabric was z/z-spun, which was different from the Continental z/s- or s/s-spun fabric,¹⁶ (see figure 30) but their vegetable fibres match the Continental material; while on the Iberian peninsula linen tabbies of Zs- or Sz-spliced yarn were the norm; and on Cyprus the linen tabbies were mainly made with s-spin. Bender Jørgensen also shows that it is likely that the woollen and linen fabrics were made with quite different techniques, from the spindle to the loom. It has been hypothesised that a new loom and spindle were developed with the new technique of wool textiles. This might have developed from the Neolithic method for making large two-dimensional items in twined technique as suggested by Rast-Eicher (2005:123). During the Middle Bronze Age the weaving techniques seems to have been quite stable within the different regions, until the Urnfield culture took a further step in the craft of weaving, with the development of twill (Bender Jørgensen 1992:116ff). Fabric of a mix of wool and linen exists in Central Germany (Bender Jørgensen 1992:52, Harding 2000:255).¹⁷

Bender Jørgensen (1986:16f, 289f) has identified a change in the spin direction of the threads used in woven textiles, from a majority of the combination of z-spun and s-spun threads, to a predominance of only s-spun wool. She draws attention to the distribution pattern of the s/s-spun textiles during Period II. She shows that all the Period II s/s-spun pieces come from Jutland south of the Limfjord, apart from one, which was found on the island of Bornholm (Bender Jørgensen 1986:16).¹⁸ There are two s/s fragments dating to Period II in the old Valsømagle region: one from Billegravsgård, Pedersker, Bornholm Søndre, Bornholm and one from Dalhuset, Skivum, Års, Ålborg. Hägg (1995:140), on the other hand, argues that the different spin directions were used for different types of clothing. The s/s-spun cloth, according to Hägg, can be found in textiles used for three different items: the cloak, the blanket and the footcloth. She suggests that if cremated bones were wrapped in a coat or a blanket, the apparent change in spin direction over time may actually be related to the change in the burial custom from inhumation to cremation. According to Ehlers, the s/z¹⁹ was the only combination that was used in what she calls the 'core area' during Period I (1700-1500 BC); it was the most commonly used combination during Period II, but lost its dominance as the main spin combination in favour of only using s-spun wool during Period III (Ehlers 1998:145, 178f). I have demonstrated that differences in the spin direction used in the textiles in southern Scandinavia are due to cultural differences, and it is only during Period III that different traditions begin to merge (Bergerbrant manuscript).

Bender Jørgensen (1992:118f) points out the lack of remains of the early Nordic loom, but she argues that it may have developed from the warp-weighted loom. The Stone Age mixed wool and vegetable fibres and the loom weight might have been the first steps in the development of the new technology. According to Bender Jørgensen, it is likely that the Bronze Age loom was an intermediate type of wool loom between the earlier warp-weighted flax loom and the tubular loom of the Iron Age in Scandinavia. It has been argued that several of the well-preserved cloths are so long that they must have been woven on a loom with a movable beam (Broholm & Hald 1940:120). Harding (2000:256ff) claims that an upright loom could not have been used for the Danish textiles, but rather some kind of tubular arrangement must have been used instead. The shawl found in the Trindhøj mound is woven in a way that indicates that it was made on a tubular loom. There are also other fragments from the Middle Bronze Age that indicate that both a tubular loom and a



Figure 30: S- and Z-spun thread drawn by Ida Demant

warp-weighted loom were used (Stærmosse Nielsen 1999:121-127). The width of the textiles led Harding to suggest that the loom must have needed more than one person to operate it (Harding 2000:256ff). This was previously suggested by Broholm and Hald (1940:120ff), who based their interpretation on the original width of the textiles seen by the natural selvadges and the fact that many textile remains show that two or more threads were used in each shed. Many of the textiles have a width of more than two metres. One piece of cloth can, however, show a different amount of weft thread working at different parts; according to Broholm and Hald this could indicate that the number of people working at the loom could vary. If this is true, it means that the task of weaving may not have fallen on just one person, but rather was a communal job that could have been shared by two or more people. This may have been a common way of creating textiles during the Bronze Age. If one looks at the pictures of weaving from the Bronze Age, from rock art to Greek vase paintings, one can see that many depictions show two people working at the loom (Barber 1991, chapter 3).

The colour of the cloth has been debated. According to some, the now brown textiles could have become that way from spending millennia in a wet environment (Hedeager Madsen 1988:249). However, microscopic examinations have shown that the wool was brown from the beginning. There are a few exceptions where white wool was used in the Middle Bronze Age, for example the white belt from the Skrydstrup grave and a very light textile (probably either a blanket, a coat or a shawl) from the Trindhøj grave (Ryder 1990:137ff, Stærmosse Nielsen 1989:57). To my knowledge there are no archaeological traces from the Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age that indicate that one might have coloured the yarn. The earliest known example of coloured yarn in Scandinavia dates to the first century AD, and before that only natural pigment was used to create patterning (Bender Jørgensen & Walton 1986:186). Bronze Age people probably created patterns in their material by using different shades of yarn that produced nuances in the textile. This can be seen in the use of a lighter belt in the Skrydstrup grave and the possibly darker yarn used for the embroidery on the textiles from Emmer-Erfsccheidenveen (Comis 2003:193ff).

It has been shown that the Bronze Age textiles have different qualities, like the Borum Eshøj textiles, which are woven with less refinement than the Trindhøj textiles (Kristiansen 1979:189). The treatment of the textiles might have become more sophisticated through time and, for instance, both the Skrydstrup grave and the Melhøj burial (both dating to around the twelfth century BC by radiocarbon analysis) have embroidery on the blouse.

The Skrydstrup outfit contains ten different yarns, but the weaving technique is the same (Bender Jørgensen, Munksgaard & Stærmosse Nielsen 1984:39, 43, Nielsen 1980:12). The oldest example of a blouse with embroidery from the Nordic Bronze Age is, however, from the Period II grave at Flintbek (Ehlers 1998:162ff, 222ff). This is a grave of a young woman aged 15-16, who, based on her full costume and the metal objects that accompanied her, is likely to have come from the Ilmenau area of the Lüneburg Heath (Ke9593A. Bergerbrant 2005a:165f, Zich 1992a&b:186). If this is so, the earliest evidence of embroidery found in the Nordic Bronze Age belongs to the Lüneburg culture. The embroidery technique was widespread in large areas of northern Europe by Period III. This is indicated in the fragments found in both Scandinavia (Bender Jørgensen, Munksgaard & Stærmosse Nielsen 1984:39, 43) and in Holland at Emmer-Erfsccheidenveen (Comis 2003:193ff). In some cases the cloth had piled stitches added, making it resemble fur. The pile technique is mainly found on caps and on the cloak from Trindhøj, and on the textile fragments from the Melhøj grave (Broholm & Hald 1948:70, Nielsen 1988:21, Stærmosse Nielsen 1989:36). All Middle Bronze Age cloth from southern Scandinavia must be classed as coarse fabrics, but according to Broholm and Hald (1940:110) they are not products of beginners, i.e. the technology during Period II must have had some history.

Hägg (1996a) claims that textile and clothing are important markers for cultural identity. She points out that the making of costume is a differentiating and time consuming task, a craft that is handed down from generation to generation. Maybe the learning process can be seen in detailed cloth studies, as there seems to have sometimes been more than one weaver at a time and maybe the learning process can be seen in the different textile pieces. The way that the textile craft is perceived can change within a few years (Greenfield 2000) and studying the cloth itself might give us vital information about how this was done. Sørensen has pointed out that the limited variability in cloth appearance in the Bronze Age restricted its potential for visual communication (Sørensen 1991:124). However, from an archaeological viewpoint this is helpful. That is, as we can assume that most Bronze Age cloth was naturally pigmented (Ryder 1990), giving limited variations of colour, we do not need to give much thought to symbolic differences in fabric colour, but can instead concentrate on the clothing itself.

No calculations have been conducted to estimate how long it would take to make a typical item of Bronze Age clothing, but Andersson (1996:8) has pointed out that a considerable amount of time was invested in the prehistoric craft of textile produc-

tion. Magnusson (1986:283) shows that in parts of northern Sweden during the eighteenth century AD women spent September to April doing textile work, in addition to their other duties, and it was only in the summer months that other occupations were emphasised. This more recent example might indicate that cloth could be seen as a valuable thing in itself, partly due to the skill and work that went into creating it.

Remains of textile production in Scandinavia from the Middle Bronze Age are few. However, there is an important example at Egehøj, East Jutland, where a weaving area has been identified along the north wall and the westernmost roof support based on small postholes and loom weights that were found in the pit (1 m diameter and 0.4 m deep). A similar pit was found in house II, where we have another possible weaving pit. Both houses are dated to Period I (Boas 1983:92f, 100). Unless there was a major change in textile production, which is untraceable in the small textile remains, the distance between the posts is too small to weave much of the cloth that has survived. It therefore seems unlikely that these pits were utilized for weaving the full outfits as seen in the oak log coffin graves. Maybe they were used for creating smaller pieces of cloth, or were just places where the loom was stored away when it was not in use. In the settlement at Lindebjerg on Funen, loom weights have also been found (Jæger & Laursen 1983:102ff). In other parts of Europe there are remains of loom weights which were sometimes grouped along house walls. From the Late Bronze Age in Wallwitz, Kr. Burg in Lower Saxony a weaving hollow has been excavated. There seems to be the suggestion that the loom was c. 1 m wide, indicated by the post-holes relating to the loom weights (Audouze & Büchsenschütz 1992:135f). The alleged lack of weaving traces in the households (Bender Jørgensen 1986:139) might not be because of a real uniqueness of prehistoric weaving skills, but rather may have more to do with the way we excavate our settlement sites. Many of our Bronze Age settlement sites are excavated by a technique that entails stripping off the subsoil and focusing on the underlying structures, such as post-holes and hearths. Activities related to the settlement seen through the artefacts are almost always lost by this excavation technique (Artursson 2005a). If the wooden tubular loom was the most common form of loom during the Middle Bronze Age, this may explain the apparent lack of artefactual evidence of weaving, as it leaves very few archaeological traces.

Bender Jørgensen (1986:139) was tempted to interpret that the warp-weighted loom had been in use during the Late Neolithic and Bronze Age Period I and II, and that the tubular loom came into use in Period III. She associates the possible shift

to the change in spin combinations, but she points out that it is not possible to formulate an unambiguous conclusion. The change in spin direction can be connected to other social phenomena, not just weaving technique (Bergerbrant manuscript). It is possible that the tubular method was used in the Sögel-Wohlde region earlier than Period III, as we have basically no traces of weaving from this area. The loom weights we have are from the old Valsø-magle region, where the change in spin combination first takes place during Period III (despite occurring earlier elsewhere). Further investigation may show whether the two regions used different types of loom before Period III.

Homeric references to weaving suggest a close connection between highborn women and work at the loom. "The blessings of culture, the spindle and the loom, are as everywhere in the Homeric poems a source of delight" (Broholm & Hald 1940:188f).

Clothing

There are seven well preserved outfits from the Middle Bronze Age; these are assumed to be the clothing that was used while the person was alive, i.e. not special clothing for the burial. This assumption is based on the fact that the clothes have traces of wear and signs that previously used long skirts had been remade into different pieces of clothing (Ekildsen & Lomborg 1977). The argument that the clothing has been used is mainly based on the traces of wear marks seen on the long piece of textile found in the Skrydstrup burial (Ekildsen & Lomborg 1976:21), as the pieces of garments recovered earlier have been displayed in a manner that created 'new' wear marks (Jensen, Meyer & Skals 1995:133), and a reliable assessment is therefore difficult to conduct. The different reconstructions of the clothing and their reliability will be discussed below. Of the seven outfits, three are seen as women's clothing based on osteological analysis and/or the artefacts found in the coffin. Based on these three outfits the clothing from the Ølby burial will be reconstructed. One of these graves (Skrydstrup) is a Period III grave and is therefore technically outside the scope of this dissertation. However, it will still be presented here as it makes an important contribution to the discussion about clothing and textiles.

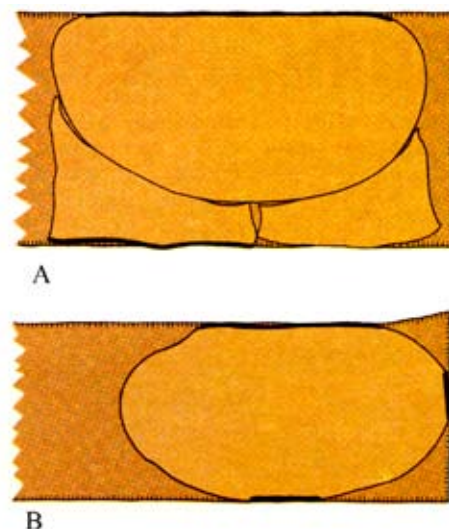


Figure 31: A) The Muldbjerg costume placed on the Skrydstrup long skirt; B) the oval cloak from Borum Es-høj placed on the long skirt from Borum Es-høj (from Ekildsen & Lomborg 1977:5. Published with permission from SKALK).



Figure 32: The piece of cloth from Hvidegård (photo Niels Erik Jehrbo, National Museum Copenhagen, published with permission from the National Museum Copenhagen). No known scale.

The man's outfit

The graves from Borum Eshøj (A & B), Muldbjerg, and Trindhøj, are the burials that contain male clothing (Broholm & Hald 1948). They were all excavated during the nineteenth century. From these excavations we have very good information about how the clothes were placed in the graves. The Borum Eshøj burials are some of the few graves from the period with skeletal remains.

Broholm and Hald (1940, 1948) used a different terminology for the male garments than is used here. I have chosen to follow a more modern and standardised research terminology based on Croom (2000) and Vogelsang-Eastwood (1993), which also makes comparisons with garments from other cultures and over time much easier. The Egyptian garments studied by Vogelsang-Eastwood (1993) are partly contemporary with the garments studied below even though they are widely divided in terms of geography. It is important to use the definitions of cloak, capes and mantles used for the Ro-

man material by Croom (2000) as a coherent definition makes it easier for us to study change in the costume over time. A kilt is defined as a male item of clothing that is a wrap-around garment that covers all or a part of the lower half of the body, i.e. a skirt when worn by a woman, and it is formed from a basic length of cloth. A loincloth, by contrast, is triangular in shape and "is a simple garment, part of which is wrapped around the waist, while the rest is drawn between the legs" (Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993:10ff, 53ff). Based on this definition the garment called a 'loincloth' by Broholm & Hald (1940:55f, 63f) is here regarded as a kilt. A wrap-around is defined as "a single rectangle of cloth" that is worn with the top corner of the material draped over the left shoulder and then the cloth was wrapped around the body one or more times, while a belt or a strap could be used to keep the garment in place (Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993:88f). Even though this is not a perfect description of the garment found in Muldbjerg and Trindhøj, it seems to me to be a better term than 'gown', which was used by Broholm and Hald (1940:19f, 33f). According to Croom a mantle is "a large rectangle of cloth, draped over the left shoulder, rounded at the back, under the left arm and back over the left arm and shoulder"; "at its most basic, a cloak was simply a rectangle of cloth fastened by a separate brooch, almost always on the right shoulder"; and the cape that "was sewn up the front ... usually had a hood" (Croom 2000:50ff). From these definitions the best term for the South Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age 'outer wear' is cloak.

Borum Eshøj grave A, has been dendrochronologically dated to c. 1351 BC from a sample with part of the sapwood preserved (Christensen 1998:113). The grave contained skeletal parts, which were held together by fleshy parts and muscle. The osteological analysis determined that it was a man between 50 and 60 years of age. On his head he wore a round cap with pile stitches. He was dressed in a kilt, which covered him from the lowest rib to the knees; the kilt was fastened with a simple cord. There were no traces of shoes, but in the area of the feet there were two small oblong pieces of cloth, and these have been interpreted as some kind of socks or stockings. The man was covered by a wide oval-shaped cloth, which has been interpreted as a cloak and is assumed to have been a garment worn by the man while he was alive (Broholm & Hald 1948:46-48, see figure 33).

Grave B from Borum Eshøj is dendrochronologically dated to c. 1345 BC from a sample with only heartwood preserved (Christensen 1998:113, Jensen, J. 1993:189).²⁰ According to the osteological analysis the deceased was a man aged around 20 years old. He was dressed in a kilt, which was held together by a leather strap with a wooden double

²⁰ The lack of sapwood makes the date approximate, but its proposed felling year is regarded as fairly accurate. For the Trindhøj burial the date given is the earliest possible felling year, as the distance to the sapwood is uncertain (Christensen 1998:113).



Figure 33: Borum Eshøj grave A (reconstruction by Sigyn Stenqvist, (©)Bergerbrant & Stenqvist 2007).



Figure 34: Borum Eshøj grave B (reconstruction by Sigyn Stenqvist, (©)Bergerbrant & Stenqvist 2007).

button. There are remains of leather shoes on his feet. He was also covered with oval cloth, perhaps representing a coat (Broholm & Hald 1948:51, see figure 34).

The dendrochronological date of the Muldbjerg grave (with bark ring preserved) is 1365 BC (Christensen 1998:113). Only a few bones were preserved; no aging of the bones has been conducted. The deceased was wearing a hemispherical cap with pile stitches. He was dressed in a wrap-around that reached from the upper chest down to the knees, and it was tied at the waist with a broad leather belt, which was fastened with a horn double button at the back. Two oblong strips of cloth were found in the foot region, which are presumed to have been socks of some kind. The deceased was covered with a kidney-shaped cloth that was probably used as a

cloak (Broholm & Hald 1948:56-59, see figure 35).

The Trindhøj burial, grave A, is dendrochronologically dated (only heartwood preserved) to c. 1356 BC (Christensen 1998:113, Jensen, J. 1993:189). No bones are preserved. The deceased was wearing a round cap, with pile stitches, on his head. The cap has been viewed as a technological masterpiece. In a chip-box there was also a simpler cap. The departed wore a wrap-around, similar to the one in Muldbjerg, which was held together by a woven belt that ended with a tassel. On his feet he was wearing leather shoes, and he too was covered with a cloak. The cloak had a similar shape to the Muldbjerg cloak, but it was covered by pile stitches on the side that is presumed to be the outside, and this made the cloak heavy; the estimated weight of the cloak is around four kilos (Broholm &

Figure 35:
Muldbjerg burial
(reconstruction
by Sigyn Sten-
qvist, (©)Berger-
brant & Sten-
qvist 2007).



Figure 36:
Trindhøj buri-
al (reconstruc-
tion by Sig-
yn Stenqvist,
(©)Bergerbrant
& Stenqvist
2007).



Hald 1948:43-46, Stærmosse Nielsen 1989:46, see figure 36).

The male clothing seems to have some shared traits. They all wore a cloak of some kind, oval or kidney-shaped, and probably leather shoes. All men have remains of cloth or leather in the area of their feet, which indicates that they were wearing shoes of some kind. The cap seems to be a common feature for male attire, with only Borum Eshøj grave B lacking a cap. There are slight individual differences between the caps, both in shape (round or hemispherical) and in terms of ornamentation, ranging from more elaborate, e.g. covered with pile stitches, to a plain and simple version. If a grave contains two caps, the most elaborate cap was worn for the funeral and the other one was placed by the side of the deceased. Based on Near Eastern symbols and the golden caps from Western Europe, Kristiansen and Larsson (2005:271) interpret the rounded cap as a symbol for profane rulers whereas the pointed hats are seen as symbols for the gods. According to Kristiansen and Larsson (2005:271ff) the caps in the oak-log coffins are symbols indicating that the deceased had been a chieftain. The main difference between the men is that two are wearing

wrap-arounds (Muldbjerg and Trindhøj) and two are dressed in kilts (the two Borum Eshøj burials). This gives us three different outfits. The clothing of the Muldbjerg and Trindhøj individuals is very similar, i.e. a cap, a wrap-around, a cloak and shoes. Grave A from Borum Eshøj is also similar, but differs somewhat by the fact that a kilt was worn instead of a wrap-around. The deceased in grave B from Borum Eshøj varies the most in that he did not wear a cap. The difference in appearance between wearing an oval coat or kidney shaped cloak and one wrap-around has been interpreted by Eskildsen and Lomborg as depending on which woman they married (Eskildsen & Lomborg 1977). The kidney-shaped cloak and the wrap-around are cut from the same piece of big cloth, as seen in the Trindhøj grave (Nielsen 1971). Eskildsen and Lomborg point out that the cloak and the pieces used for the wrap-around give about the same measurements as the Skrydstrup grave's long skirt (see below). The smaller cloth from the Borum Eshøj, grave C (see below)²¹, does not allow for the creation of this outfit, but out of it an oval shape cloak could be made, like the one worn by the man buried in Borum Eshøj grave A. Eskildsen and Lomborg there-

²¹ The Skrydstrup woman was about 170 cm in height, whereas the Borum Eshøj woman was 157 cm tall (Glob 1970:33 & 53). This has been interpreted as the reason for differences in the measurement of the long cloths/skirts (Eskildsen & Lomborg 1977:4). The calibration of the date of the textile fragment seems to be slightly older than the other remains, which suggests that older textiles might have been remade into different pieces of clothing.

fore suggest that the man's clothing depended on the height of the woman he married; the cloaks are meant to be made out of used long skirts (see below, Eskildsen & Lomborg 1977, see figure 31). One can see that the cloaks are probably made out of used long skirts, but to relate the male dress directly to marital status is difficult to prove, as it is very difficult for us to know about local marriage alliances in the past; for a more detailed discussion about this see chapter 7. Kristiansen and Larsson (2005:276f) argue that the cap and the cloak are insignia of the chief. In view of the Borum Eshøj burial A, a man with no other preserved symbols of chieftom (no metal objects or folding stool, etc.), this hypothesis can definitely be questioned.

In Nybøl, Hjordkjær, Rise, Åbenrå (Ke3022) the remains of a woollen blanket, a probable semicircular cloak, and a woven strap have been found (Bender Jørgensen 1990:11). These textile fragments seem to fit very well with the clothing from the other oak-log coffins as outlined above. This burial is dated to Period III, and therefore it seems likely that the garment types used during Period II were still in use during Period III. In a Period III



cremation grave from Hvidegård, Lyngby-Tårn, Søkkelund, København (Ke399) there were textile remains of a probable blanket and something that was interpreted by Lomborg as remains of a cultic clothing garment, similar to the article of clothing seen on one of the statuettes from Grevenvænge (see figure 32). This grave has been interpreted as the remains of a chief and ritual leader. Lomborg's view is that the deceased had been cremated in his everyday clothing and then placed in the grave with his bag that held 'magical' objects and his ritual clothing; everything was then covered by a blanket (Lomborg 1981:72-83).

In a bog in the north-east Netherlands, Emmer-Erfscheidenveen, remains of a probable Bronze Age wrap-around have been found. The remains are of s/s-spun woollen tabby. According to Comis' (2003:193ff) analysis of the remains it seems to be fragments of a garment that were similar to the Mulbjerg wrap-around. The textile remains had embroidery on them, and the yarn used for the embroidery was probably made of a darker yarn than the cloth (Comis 2003:193ff, van der Sanden 1996:124). The remains were found in association with a bog body, and deposited in direct relation to this was a fur cloak made of calf-skin, a sheep-skin cap and a shoe made from deer-skin. The bog body has been ¹⁴C dated and dates to somewhere be-

Figure 38: The woman from Borum Eshøj (reconstruction by Sigyn Stenqvist, ©Bergerbrant & Stenqvist 2007).

Figure 37: Skrydstrup burial (reconstruction by Sigyn Stenqvist, ©Bergerbrant & Stenqvist 2007).

²² GrN-15459 (wood) 2980±35 BP, GrA19531 (textile) 3110±50, GrA-19532 (hair) 2995±45, GRA-19533 (skin) 3020±40 (Van der Sanden 1996:191, van der Plicht et al 2004:482).

²³ If calibrated in Oxcal 3.10 then we have a 93.9% probability within 1320–890 and with 65.3% probability between 1220–970 BC. I have chosen to bring this grave into the discussion despite the fact that it belongs to Period III, as it helps us to understand the Borum Eshøj grave.

tween 1500–1110 BC²², i.e. Period II–III from a Scandinavian perspective. The man who ended up in the Emmer-Erscheidenveen bog is thought possibly to have been strangled to death (van der Plicht 2004:487, van der Sanden 1996:156).

There are indications of some common traits in the male clothing (the wrap-around and the cloak) in northern Europe, suggested both by the fragments from Emmer-Erscheidenveen and by depictions of cloaks in rock art. There are depictions of cloaks and wrap-arounds in the rock art from a geographically extensive area (Pers. comm. Annika Larsson 2006–11–23), from Scania to Uppland in Sweden (Goldhahn 2005:78f). One can find them in, for example, Uppland (Almgren 1960:31–37, Coles 2000:69ff), Himmelstadlund, Östergötland (Hauptman Wahlgren 2002:86f), and Scania (Almgren 1960:19f) in Sweden. In Uppland there are also examples of rock art depicting kilts (Pers. comm. Annika Larsson 2006–11–23). However,

whether or not the so-called ‘cloak carvings’ are actually depictions of cloaks has been a subject for debate (Almgren 1960, Coles 2000:69ff, Malmer 1989a:18, 1989b:94f), but it has been shown that they correspond well with the shape of known cloaks, kilts, and wrap-arounds from oak log graves (Pers. comm. Annika Larsson 2006–11–23, Almgren 1960). If they are dated to the Middle Bronze Age they could probably be compared with the carvings of axes, swords and spears which have been described by Hauptman Wahlgren (2002:80) as the only fairly accurately depicted artefacts. It seems that the cloak carvings have been overlooked in this category, although one might reasonably regard them as part of the warrior’s gear. This may be because they are textile products and are therefore seen by many as belonging to the female sphere, despite being found in male graves. Rock art research has often tended to focus on the male sphere even if there are some exceptions to this rule; for example, Goldhahn (2005:66–136) has studied the cloak carvings and interpreted them as having cosmological connotations rather than being mere depictions of cloaks.

Based on the artefacts we can indirectly deduce where leather objects may have existed. For example, the existence of a double button indicates the presence of a leather belt or strap. This is justified since all cases of double buttons in the above graves are related to leather belts or straps (see figure 54). This goes as well for other examples of well preserved material such as Hvidegård, Lyngby-Tårnbæk (Ke 399), and Jægersborg, Gentofte (Ke 369), both in Sokkelund, Københavns. In regions where some of the weapons were worn differently, e.g. tied to the leg, there are few or no belt hooks or double buttons (see below).

The woman’s outfit

Grave C from Bor um Eshøj contained clothing and artefacts associated with women, but unfortunately it was found by non-archaeologists and got dispersed amongst the local community before museum employees managed to take possession of it. Luckily, probably all of the artefacts were collected and a fairly detailed account was given of the find circumstances (Boye 1896). The Skrydstrup grave and the Egtved burial were both excavated by professional archaeologists at the beginning of the twentieth century, so they can be used for a detailed study of the outfits worn by women (Broholm and Hald 1948).

The Skrydstrup grave was found in 1935; hardly any of the oak coffin was preserved. Thus there can be no dendrochronological dating, but there is one radiocarbon date of 2900 ± 80 BP²³ (Stærmosø Nielsen 1989:61). The burial has been osteologically determined to be a female around 18–20 years old.



Figure 39:
Egtved burial
(reconstruction
by Sigyn Sten-
qvist, (©)Berger-
brant & Sten-
qvist 2007).

She had an elaborate coiffure, which was covered with a hairnet made out of horsehair, and under her left cheek there was a sprang²⁴ cap with cords. On the upper part of her body she was wearing a blouse, and on the lower parts a long piece of cloth that was probably worn as a skirt. The skirt was held together with a belt that had one end torn, with a tassel at the other end (see below for a discussion about the interpretation of this piece of cloth). On the feet there were two strips of cloth wrapped round the ankles (Broholm & Hald 1939, 1948:13-20, see figure 37).

Due to the uncertain find circumstances for the Borum Eshøj grave C it is more difficult to reconstruct this grave. However, it has been interpreted with the Skrydstrup grave in mind, as there seem to be similarities. The grave contained skeletal remains that have been osteologically determined to belong to a woman in her 50s or 60s. The oak log coffin was not preserved enough for analysis (Jensen, J. 1998:98). Among the textiles collected, there were pieces that closely resemble the hairnet from the Skrydstrup grave, a blouse with the same cut and shape as that in the Skrydstrup burial, and one cloth that is said to have been wrapped around the lower parts of the body (bones found inside the cloth). This cloth has been interpreted as a skirt similar to that found in the Skrydstrup grave. Two belts were also found, one with tassels at the ends and with a belt plate fastened to it, and one belt without tassels. It appears that no traces of footwear were found amongst the artefacts (Broholm & Hald 1948:22-29, see figure 38).

The Egtved burial was found in 1921. The grave has been dendrochronologically dated from a sample with the bark ring preserved to 1370 BC (Christensen 1998:113, Jensen, J. 1993:189). On the basis of the teeth the woman was first aged between 18 and 25 years (Broholm & Hald 194:30), but more recent re-examinations indicate a younger age of 16-18 years (Alexandersen et al 1981:20, Hvass 1981:21). A plain cord was found in the hair, which had probably held her hair back. She was also dressed in a blouse that had the same shape as the other two blouses. Below the blouse she had a belt with a belt plate fastened to it and a tassel at one end. On the lower part of her body she was clothed in a corded skirt that reached to her knees. She was covered by a piece of textile with the measurements of 245 x 165/190 cm (Broholm & Hald 1948:34-36, Thomsen 1929). Also found were pieces of cloth that has been interpreted as possible socks (Alexandersen et al 1981:37, see figure 39).

In all three graves the deceased was dressed in a similar kind of blouse. Other Middle Bronze Age graves with less well preserved textile material have cloth that by inference can be interpreted as part of a blouse of this kind, as seen for example in the Mel-



høj grave and Flintbek (Bender Jørgensen, Munksgaard & Stærmosse Nielsen 1984, Ehlers 1998:162ff). The blouse seems to be ubiquitous among the outfits belonging to women. The blouse was made by cutting and stitching from the original cloth. Cutting and stitching in fabric is a very unusual activity among societies with limited weaving technology (Stærmosse Nielsen 1989:48). Hägg (1996a:143) claims that the blouse is made from an old pattern, and that the cutting and stitching are based on a leather pattern.

The skirts are different and more difficult to reconstruct. The corded skirt in the Egtved burial was considered 'indecent' and created an uproar when it was first excavated, and some early reconstructions showed the corded skirt worn on top of a long skirt (Lomborg 1971:22-23). The Egtved skirt is

Figure 40: Grave II in mound 4, Hengstberg, Wardböhmen, Celle (reconstruction by Sigrun Stenqvist, ©Bergerbrant & Stenqvist 2007).

²⁴ Sprang is a fabric made in a plaiting technique (Bender Jørgensen 1986:291)

Figure 41: Grave II in mound 1, Schafstallberg, Wardböhmen, Celle (reconstruction by Sigyn Stenqvist, (©)Bergerbrant & Stenqvist 2007).



²⁵ The measurement given in the original report is 20 to 25 cm (Broholm & Hald 1939:22), but on the drawings of the grave the belt only appears to be c. 15 cm lower than the waist (for original drawings and photograph see Broholm & Hald 1939:24 & plate 1).

²⁶ The European peplos-type clothing may be compared with that from Classical Greece, i.e. "folded down from the neck and belted. Secured at the shoulder with pins, it was sleeveless and sometimes worn over a chiton" (Pedley 1998:173).

now generally seen as having been worn hanging from the hips (Alexandersen et al 1981:35, Harald Hansen 1978:139, Hvass 1981:30). The Skrydstrup and Borum Eshøj long skirts are more difficult to reconstruct though, and the interpretations are mainly built on the Skrydstrup find as the woman from Borum Eshøj is found out of context (see above). Broholm and Hald doubt that the long cloth was used as skirts because of "the way in which the pieces are sewn together and the lack of a hand or belt at the top, but also their great width and more particularly their length which is cut out of all pro-

portion to the height of the two women" (Broholm & Hald 1948:41). However, the cloth, which has been interpreted as a long skirt, was folded twice around her body, and placed so that the top of the cloth reached the lower edge of the blouse. The belt was placed c. 20 cm lower than the waist²⁵ (on the hips) with an 89 cm in circumference (Broholm & Hald 1939:56, 99, Harald Hansen 1978:140).

Hägg argues that the peplos-dress²⁶ was in use during the Middle Bronze Age in Central Europe. Here one can find two shoulder pins in many female graves. She has earlier argued that the long skirt in the Scandinavian graves of Borum Eshøj and Skrydstrup should be seen as peplos-style garments (Hägg 1968, 1996a). Kristiansen (1974:29-34, 1975 unpublished manuscript) has also argued for the use of a peplos-type dress in Scandinavia. He bases this interpretation on the textile finds from Borum Eshøj, Skrydstrup and Egtved, use wear analysis of well-preserved bronze jewellery, and Central European material. His analysis of the bronzes shows that the artefacts bear traces of wear on the upper part of the bronzes. This, according to the author, is an indication that textiles have covered them. He argues that there was only one Bronze Age dress, and this was an Egtved dress, i.e. a corded skirt and a blouse with, depending on their social status, a number of pieces of bronze jewellery. This was then covered by the long piece of cloth arranged in a peplos-dress with a hood. The peplos should have been fastened with shoulder pins that were either made out of bone or did not accompany the deceased into the grave. According to Kristiansen, this dress would have been used throughout the Later Bronze Age as well (Kristiansen 1974, 1975:27-35 unpublished manuscript). I do not, however, agree with the above authors since there are few clues supporting the idea of the use of a long skirt as a peplos-type dress. First and foremost, the placement in the Skrydstrup grave does not indicate that the cloth was used as a peplos. A peplos-type dress is fastened with one pin or fibula at each shoulder. This can be seen in many Central European Middle Bronze Age female graves, i.e. one pin placed on each shoulder (Wels-Weyrauch 1989a, 1991). In the Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age, however, this pattern does not exist. Secondly, there is not just one Middle Bronze Age dress. The corded skirts do not exist in the Skrydstrup grave nor is there one in the burial of the woman from Borum Eshøj. Thirdly, Harald Hansen has pointed out that a Greek peplos has different measurements (2x3 m) and this is in contrast to the large textiles from the oak coffins. According to her the large cloth is not long enough to function as a Greek peplos (Harald Hansen 1978:143). Furthermore, the peplos explanation does not provide a reason for the belts found in the grave. Why should the Skrydstrup grave, which

did not contain a belt plate, need a belt or why are there two belts found in Borum Eshøj grave C? The most reasonable explanation for these belts is that they were used to hold up a skirt on the hip with a belt plate at the waist. It does not, however, mean that Kristiansen's use-wear analysis should be dismissed. The presence, at least for certain occasions, of a cloak/cover for the female dress must be further investigated. Specifically, there are indications of a special cloak/covering for the dress in Lower Saxony, where the mode of dress is generally seen to be similar to that in Scandinavia (see below).

Eskildsen and Lomborg have tried to reconstruct the Skrydstrup skirt on a 'live' model, and they view it as a skirt that was folded twice around the body, so that it reached just from under the armpits to the feet. The skirt would have been wrapped round the upper part of the body twice and one of the ends would have secured the skirt by being tucked in between the breasts. According to the authors, the belt was used as an extra security to lock the skirt in place. This way the skirt would have reached to the feet (Eskildsen & Lomborg 1976:20). The main criticism against this model has been that having first a wool blouse and then two rounds of woollen cloth around your torso would have made this clothing unbearably warm during certain times of the year (Alexandersen 1981:41f, Harald Hansen 1978:143). Additionally, it does not fit with the description of the long cloth's position from the Skrydstrup grave. Broholm and Hald (1939:99) argue that the placement of the long skirt in the Skrydstrup burial provides no clues of how it was worn. However, one may wonder why the skirt might have been placed in the grave differently from how it was used in life, when all other types of clothing are assumed to have been placed as they were worn?

Another reconstruction of the skirts has been proposed by Harald Hansen. Her suggestion is that the skirts were worn like the women's skirt on Sir Lanka. That is, the large cloth would have been tied with a belt round the hips, with the cloth gathered under the belt. This should create a skirt that has two layers, where the upper layer hangs down from the belt. Harald Hansen bases this interpretation on the low placing of the Skrydstrup belt, as well as on the fact that there are two belts found in the grave from Borum Eshøj (Harald Hansen 1978). This interpretation is interesting, but it has been dismissed by Stærnøse Nielsen on the grounds that the women in Sir Lanka live in a different kind of climate and use different fabric (Alexandersen et al 1981:45). However, one should not dismiss Harald Hansen's reconstruction so easily, although there are some problems with her interpretation. For example, Harald Hansen argues that this is a practical dress for different tasks (Harald Hansen 1978:146). Many of the authors are occupied with trying to



Figure 42: Grave I in mound 1, Schafstallberg, Wardböhmen, Celle (reconstruction by Sigyn Stenqvist, (©)Bergerbrant & Stenqvist 2007).

reconstruct a 'practical dress' (for example, Eskildsen & Lomborg 1976). However, the women in the higher social strata of the Bronze Age did not seem to worry too much about practicality, as is apparent from their jewellery and coiffure. The jewellery they used tended to be large belt plates, neck collars and neck-rings and on the Continent there are examples of very big pins and pairs of leg-rings united by a chain (Wels-Weyrauch 1989a). It is important that our reconstructions of Bronze Age dress should concentrate on the actual archaeological material. One must therefore dismiss Harald Hansen's interpretation, for there simply was not enough material above the belt in the Skrydstrup grave to create Harald Hansen's suggested layered and 'practical' skirt. Recently Randsborg (2006:249) has suggested that the long skirt could have been worn in many different ways, depending on, for

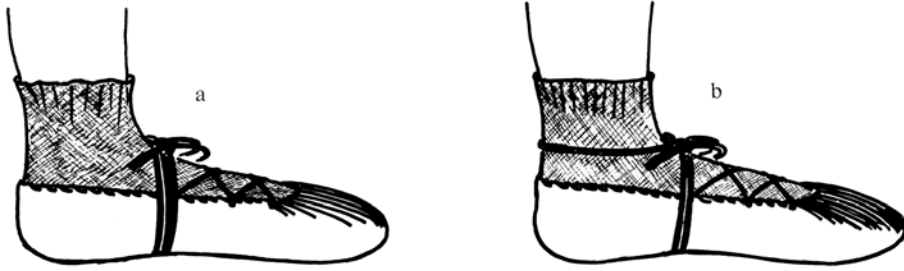


Figure 43: Interpretation of footwear by P.V. Glob (from Broholm and Hald 1939:89).

example, age, marital status or occasion. However, he does not put forward any arguments why this should be, and it is therefore difficult to evaluate his assumption.

My interpretation of the Skrydstруп outfit, and indirectly of the dress in grave C, Borum Eshøj, is that the women had their long hair in an elaborate hairstyle covered by a hair-net. On the torso a blouse was worn, and this seems to be the typical blouse for the Middle Nordic Bronze Age. On the lower part of the body there was a skirt fastened by a belt on the hips. I agree with Harald Hansen (see above) in her hypothesis that the skirt was fastened on the hips. Nielsen suggests that the big circumference of the belt was due to the fact that the Skrydstруп woman had been pregnant when she died (Nielsen 1988:20). A woman with “unusually long slender limbs” (Broholm & Hald 1948:14), as the Skrydstруп woman has been described, would be likely to have hips measuring c. 89 cm in circumference. Therefore it seems likely that the belt was placed on the hips. The skirt would then, like the Egtved corded skirt, have been placed on the hips. This could also explain the two belts in the Borum Eshøj grave C, one less elaborate that held the skirt in place, and one more elaborate for the belt plate and possibly the tutuli. The 20 cm of cloth found above the belt in the Skrydstруп grave would have been folded down to cover the belt. This would produce a dress with some cloth hanging over the belt and hiding it. It would also have had a train of cloth. The skirt in the Skrydstруп grave was draped over the feet with about 20 cm to spare (Broholm & Hald 1939:56). On the feet some kind of leather shoes or sandals were worn (see figure 43). My interpretation is similar to the one presented by Broholm and Hald in 1939 as seen in figure 91 (Broholm & Hald 1939:101), although we differ on the placement of the skirt (Broholm and Hald suggest that the belt was placed at the waist) and regarding the presence of a bare belly (Broholm and Hald cover the belly in their interpretation).

The Ølby grave is another oak-log coffin grave excavated in the late nineteenth century that contained female-associated artefacts. It contained few textile remains. It was professionally excavated by Sohus Müller, and only the cranium survived; the rest of the skeletal material had completely

disintegrated (Boye 1986:136ff, Jensen, J. 1998:123). Unfortunately there are no available osteological reports of the cranium, nor is a radiocarbon date available²⁷, but the grave is dated to Period II based on the artefacts. The excavator has given us a good excavation report from which we know the position of the artefacts in the grave. This gives us the best possible circumstances to attempt to re-

construct the clothing based merely on the artefacts and very modest textile remains. As so far only one type of blouse is known from the Middle Nordic Bronze Age, it has to be assumed that the person buried in the Ølby grave was wearing a blouse of that kind (see above). Among her grave goods were 125 bronze tubes found lying just under her belt plate (Boye 1896:16, see figure 44). Textile remains have survived in some of the bronze tubes, and these show that she had been wearing a corded skirt of the Egtved type (Bender Jørgensen 1986:185). The headpieces worn in the Middle Scandinavian Bronze Age female dress seem to have been connected with two different skirts. The long skirted women had their long hair placed in elaborate hair-nets and the corded skirt wearer seems to have had fairly short hair in a hair band (Eskildsen & Lomborg 1976:23). I therefore believe that the Ølby woman was clothed in the same type of clothing as the female buried in the Egtved burial. There are a number of burials in Period II and III that include bronze tubes that have probably been placed on corded skirts, even though there is one example (Måløv, Smørum, København) where bronze tubes had probably been placed both on the corded skirt and on the tassel of the belt (Ke 335A, Thrane 1965). During Period II they are only found within the former Valsømagle area (Bergerbrant 2005b:17ff).

This gives us two different female outfits. The first interpretation for the two different outfits in the Middle Scandinavian Bronze Age women came from the Egtved mound excavator, Thomas Thomsen. His explanation was that the Egtved funeral had occurred during the summer²⁸, and therefore the difference in dress could be explained as relating to the seasons - one a summer dress and the other for winter. He also had another idea, which he himself disproved, that she had been a temple dancer involved in erotic rituals; this is partly a reflection of the prevailing attitude of the time, which viewed the skirt as indecent. His third hypothesis was that the difference between the clothing is one of age, where the long skirt was the clothing of older females, while younger females wore the corded skirt. The excavator's conclusion was that either seasonality or age was the reason for two different kinds of skirts (Thomsen 1929:195f). With the find of the Skrydstруп grave, Thomsen's age-difference

²⁷ The oak-log coffin was almost disintegrated (Boye 1896:137), so dendrochronological dating is impossible.

²⁸ The grave contained remains from a summer flower (Glob 1970:44).

theory seemed to be proven wrong, as the woman buried in the Skrydstrup burial is 18-20 years old, and at this time the Egtved girl was believed to be 18-25 years old. Another reason for the difference in appearance has been suggested by Eskildsen and Lomborg (1976), who believed that the different clothing reflected the status of the woman, i.e. married or unmarried. Their suggestion is based first on their interpretation that the men's cloaks and sometimes wrap-around cloth, are made out of women's long skirts (see above and figure 31), and secondly on the age difference between the younger Skrydstrup female and the slightly older Egtved woman.²⁹ They argued that Nordic Bronze Age women sacrificed their hair³⁰ and gave their 'new' husband their long skirts to wear as a cloak and sometimes wrap-around, and started to wear a corded skirt. According to their view, the older woman from Borum Eshøj was dressed in a long skirt because she was probably a widow (Eskildsen & Lomborg 1976). According to this view women's attire depended on their marital status. It does not provide any insights into the male attire, apart from the shape of the cloak and wrap-around being dependent on the height of the wife (see above), and no explanation is given as to the source for the cloth for the kilt in the two male graves from Borum Eshøj. Does this also mean that men had no clothes on before marriage? The two men found in the Borum Eshøj mound have been interpreted as possibly father and son, and the woman would then have been the wife and mother of these two men. If this interpretation is true then it would indicate that before marriage the men's coats were made from their mother's long skirts. This, however, could not be possible if the married woman were wearing one long skirt up to the marriage, which she then gave to her husband; she would only have a used corded skirt left to give to her son, and it is questionable if this would make a good coat. This idea simply does not hold up to the archaeological evidence, especially after the re-aging of the Egtved female. We are left with the fact that there are two distinct outfits for the females; the reason for the use of these two different outfits needs to be discussed more carefully (see below). One can argue that the reason for the match between the male cloak and wrap-around and the Skrydstrup long skirt is because there was one standard weave, i.e. standard measurement to weave; this however, does not explain the different measurements of the Borum Eshøj long skirt nor the reason why the men in Borum Eshøj did not wear a wrap-around. Further investigations are needed before secure interpretations can be made.

Kristiansen and Larsson (2005:298, 351) have recently interpreted the difference in the outfits as the clothing for the priestess, i.e. the ritual clothing (i.e.

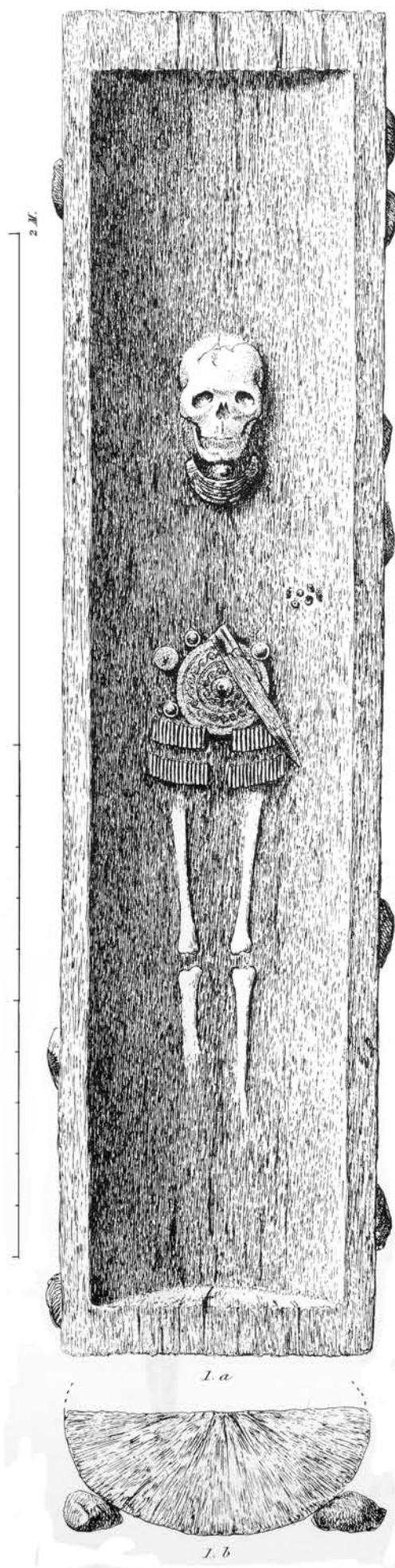
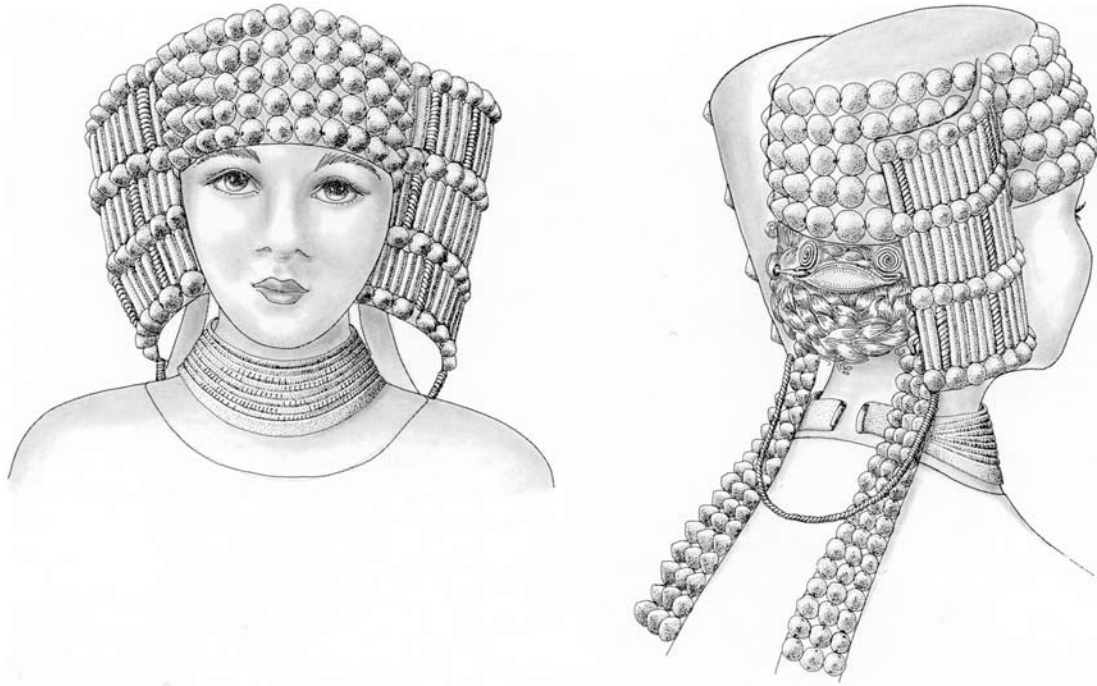


Figure 44:
The Øby burial, Højelse parish, Ramsø district, København County, drawn by A.P. Madsen (from Boye 1896: Tafel XXIV).

Figure 45:
The Lüneburg
winged bon-
net drawn by
Ulrike Wels-
Weyrauch (from
Wels-Weyrauch
1994:62).



the Egtved outfit) and the clothing for the married woman (i.e. the Skrydstrup dress). The relation between the belt plate and the sun cult as well as the different limitations in physical movement implied by the two different outfits is stressed by the authors. However, the belt plate is present in the Borum Eshøj burial as well and the only unique artefact type associated with the corded skirts is the bronze tubes. Their hypothesis is similar to Thomsen's rejected idea of a temple dancer, and one can think of many other reasons for the difference in dress. Arguments relating to context, for example, must be brought into the debate before any clear conclusions can be made.

The traces of clothing and costume on the Lüneburg Heath

There are no full outfits from the Lüneburg region from the Middle Bronze Age. However, we have some graves with fragments that help us to interpret the clothing from this area.

One grave with textile remains in Lower Saxony is grave 2 in Heiligentahl, mound 7, Lüneburg. Despite the fact that it belongs to Laux's time group III, the Deutsch-Evern phase, and therefore falls outside this dissertation's time frame, it will be included in the discussion since it has textile remains that will help us to understand the clothing and the dress on the Lüneburg Heath during the Middle Bronze Age. The deceased had a thin bronze sheet metal placed on the forehead, three bronze neck-rings and one necklace made out of 26 glass beads, a Spiralplattenfibel on the chest, one arm-ring on each forearm, 20 small conical-shaped studs in the pelvis region and three bronze rings had been placed the ankles. There were remains of textile in connection with all the bronze objects. All deter-

minable textile fragments were tabby and were s/s-spun. The textile and other organic remains indicated that the departed person had been placed on a cowhide. She had worn a short-sleeved blouse with a decorative end at the neck opening and probably a belt and/or a skirt with jewellery attached and socks of some kind. The textile fragments above the ankle-ring, arm-ring and neck-ring are seen by Ehlers as a possible cloak that was placed above the deceased to cover the body (Ehlers 1998:166ff).



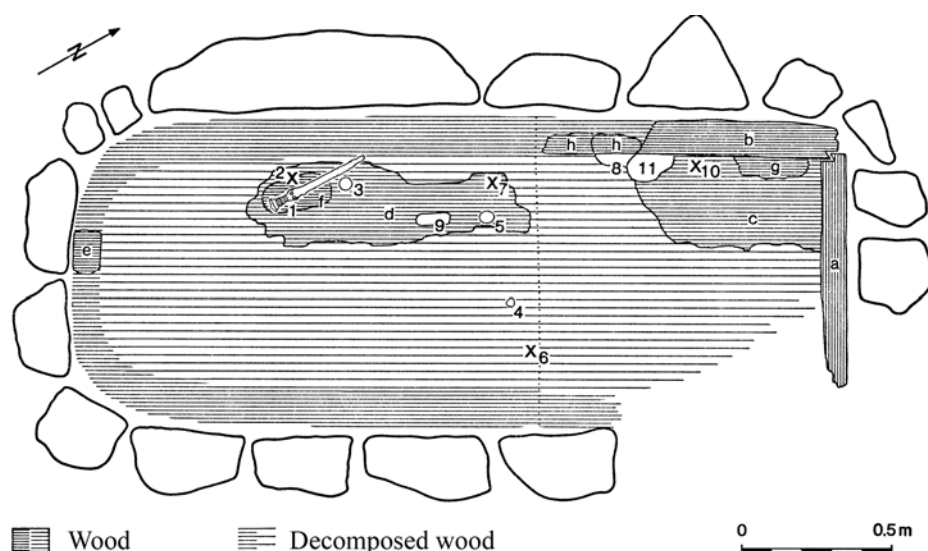
Figure 46: Area of study: 1= Copenhagen area, 2= south-east Funen, 3= Schleswig area, 4= Wardböhmen and Bleckmar

This, in many cases, resembles the Nordic clothing. If Ehlers is correct in her assumption that the fragments above the different types of rings are the remains of a cloak, then the skirt must have been shorter than the Scandinavian long skirts. The possibility of a corded skirt obviously exists, even though we do not have any clear evidence for the use of corded skirts in this area during the Middle Bronze Age. It is, however, in contrast to southern Scandinavia, common to wear ankle-rings in this region, and the presence of ankle-rings might indicate a shorter skirt since if one wears a long skirt the ankle-ring would not be visible. The head ought to have had some kind of textile head covering on which the bronze sheet (diadem) had been sewn. It seems unlikely that these head coverings were made of some kind of netting-work. Reconstructions from other graves show that some graves in the Lüneburg Heath had head gear that was heavily embellished with bronze objects (Ehlers 1998:196, Laux 1996a, see figure 45).

Another female grave, this time from Quelkhorn, Verden (grave C), also has textile fragments that can contribute to our understanding of the clothing from this region. The artefacts found in the grave are one Rollenkofnadel and two bronze arm-spiral-rings (fragments). There were woollen textile fragments of tabby of s/z-spun yarn. In contrast to Ehlers (see above), Hägg interprets these fragments as remnants of a long-sleeved blouse rather than a covering cloak. This is based on the fact that the textile fragments were found on the inside of the arm-spiral rather than on the outside (Hägg 1996b). There were no traces of any kind of skirt.

Laux (1996a:112) claims that there are no textile remains from male graves from the Lower Saxony Middle Bronze Age male clothing. This, however, is not true as there are both analysed (Ehlers 1996) and unanalysed remains (see appendix 5). Even where textile fragments exist in male graves, for example, Quelkhorn, Verden (Ehlers 1996), there are really no graves providing good evidence for a serious discussion about male clothing. This is because the textile fragments are often found in association with a dagger, or have not been analysed, such as grave IV in mound 13 in Schafstallberge, Wardböhmen, Celle.

Hägg (1996b:233) argues that it is likely that middle and south Jutland and the northern German coastal area had a shared clothing background in the Bronze Age, as they belonged to the same cultural sphere in the Late Neolithic, the Single Grave Culture. Therefore, one might reasonably assume that the basic pieces of male clothing, such as the



wrap-around and/or the kilt, were used in the Lüneburg Heath as well.

In the Lüneburg area the female clothing and costume during Period II seem to have at least two different types of head gear, and both are unlike the types known in southern Scandinavia during the Middle Bronze Age. We have no clear evidence for male head gear, so it is difficult to know if the south Scandinavian cap was worn here or if the men had a different type of head gear. However, we have a number of male graves where bronze or gold Lockenringen have been found, and this indicates the presence of a kind of head gear that is different from the Scandinavian cap. However, precisely what it looked like is hard to say without any organic remains to go on. Other than this 'unknown', we can infer that the male costume and equipment (see below) seems to have comprised a soft woollen costume without any hindrance to movement. The visible impact must have been similar to that of the south Scandinavian except for the lack of razors and tweezers, which might indicate that these men had beards and perhaps different views on personal hygiene. The bronze objects tend to be small and very few of them are related to the costume.

Among the females, however, many were heavily equipped with bronze objects. They would have had a more distinctive visual impact. None of the objects directly hinders movements, but some of the head gear must have been heavy to wear, and some of the buried females seem to have had a heavy burden to carry on their torso (see figure 41 & 77). It seems likely that more bronze objects, such as studs, had been sewn onto the clothing than in south Scandinavia. This means that more bronze objects were a permanent part of the clothing. This larger number of sewn on objects also indirectly creates a more elaborate textile treatment than found on the south Scandinavian ones, based on the objects found in the graves.

Figure 47: Plan of grave B, Charlottenlund, Gentofte parish sb 32, Ke366B (from Aner & Kersten 1973:127 figure 72). 1 sword, 2 head of pin, 3 double button, 4&5 parts of belt hook, 6 pin, 7 knife, 8 to 10 organic material.

²⁹ The Egtved woman has since been re-examined and is now regarded as of the same age as the Skrydstrup female, or slightly younger (see above).

³⁰ Plaited hair has been found in bogs, sometimes deposited with ards from the Bronze Age (Gibbs 1987:85, Eskildesen & Lomborg 1976:23).

well preserved burials that have been associated with men have combs in the grave, but not, as in the case of females, physically attached to their clothing. No beard remains have been found in the oak-log coffins despite the fact that fragile hair, such as pubic hair and the hair from eyebrows, has been found. This should indicate that the men shaved. The importance of shaving can be read from all the razors found in the graves from this period (Boye 1986, Glob 1970, Treherne 1995). There may have been other body modifications, such as tattoos as observed on the man found in the Ötztal Alps (Spindler 1994:167-173), but if that is the case, all traces have disappeared.

The importance placed on combs and razors could indicate a concern with cleanliness and therefore odour. Later, the comb also seems to have had symbolic value, as seen for example among Viking Age men. Despite the apparent emphasis on hair-grooming, a travelling Arab, Ibn Fadlan, who encountered the Rus somewhere along the Volga River, describes the Rus as being horribly dirty (Stenberger 1964:655f). Therefore we should perhaps not put too much importance on the existence of combs and razors, as notions of cleanliness are culturally and religiously specific. They might just indicate an interest on the outward appearance, and the Late Bronze Age bronze combs with horse ornamentation (Kaul 2004:301ff, Jensen, J. 2002:392f) or the pictures of combs on urns (Jensen, J. 2002:392f) may be an indication of the symbolic or ritual value of bodily treatment.

The only effect of touch, except for the wooden sheath of the sword, is the wool in the clothing, and wool is a warm soft material (Bender Jørgensen 1992:117). The rest of the bronze, wooden or bone objects are too small to make any more significant

impact. The costume of the men should not have made any particular sounds during movement in their environment, except for the possible sound the cape might have created when the man moved around.

The women's costume

The women have a wider variety of accessories associated with their costume than the men. They have large, heavy bronze ornaments like belt plates and neck-collars. The Skrydstrup woman has the smallest number artefacts added to her outfit, with just two gold earrings and one comb. All the women had combs fastened to the belt, under the belt plates in the cases of Egtved and Borum Eshøj grave C, except the Ølby grave, and this is probably due to different preservation conditions. Most combs seem to have been made of horn or bone, but combs made of bronze have also been found in, for example, Buddinge, Gladakse, Sokkelund, Københavns (Ke379) and Diernæs, Hoptrup, Haderslev (Ke 3622A). Sørensen has pointed out that many of the European Bronze Age female-associated artefacts are permanently attached, which can be read from the diameter of neck-rings and arm-rings, for example (Sørensen 1997:101ff); the neck-rings and arm-rings in my examples were all removable.³⁴ The only garment that seems to have artefacts as a permanent part of the clothing is the Ølby burial. The 125 bronze tubes appear to have been an integral part of her corded skirt, while the amber beads and glass pearls were either sewn onto the blouse or were a part of an arm-ring.³⁵ As with the men, most of the women's artefacts are removable. Due to the small

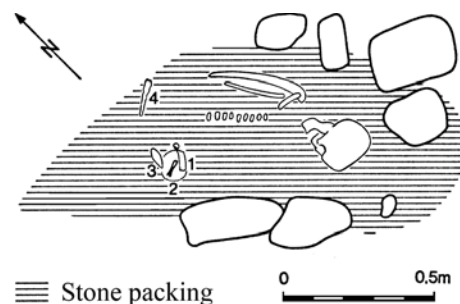


Figure 49: Plan of grave K from Gladakse sb nr 11, Ke382K (from Aner & Kersten 1973:127 figure 84). 1 razor, 2 tweezers, 3 flint strike-a-light, 4 dagger blade.

³⁴ The neck-ring from Borum Eshøj is a full circle and has a lock. If the neck-ring has been used as a permanent or removable artefact it will be evident in the use-wear pattern, but to my knowledge no use-wear analyses have been published. This neck-ring may have been used as permanent jewellery.

³⁵ The amber beads and the glass pearls have traditionally been interpreted as parts of an arm-ring; however, they could equally well have been sewn onto the blouse. To be able to see which is the most likely, one needs to conduct use-wear analysis, or have a very detailed excavation report. This demands a detailed analysis and therefore the traditional view that regards the beads as part of an arm-ring is followed in this dissertation.

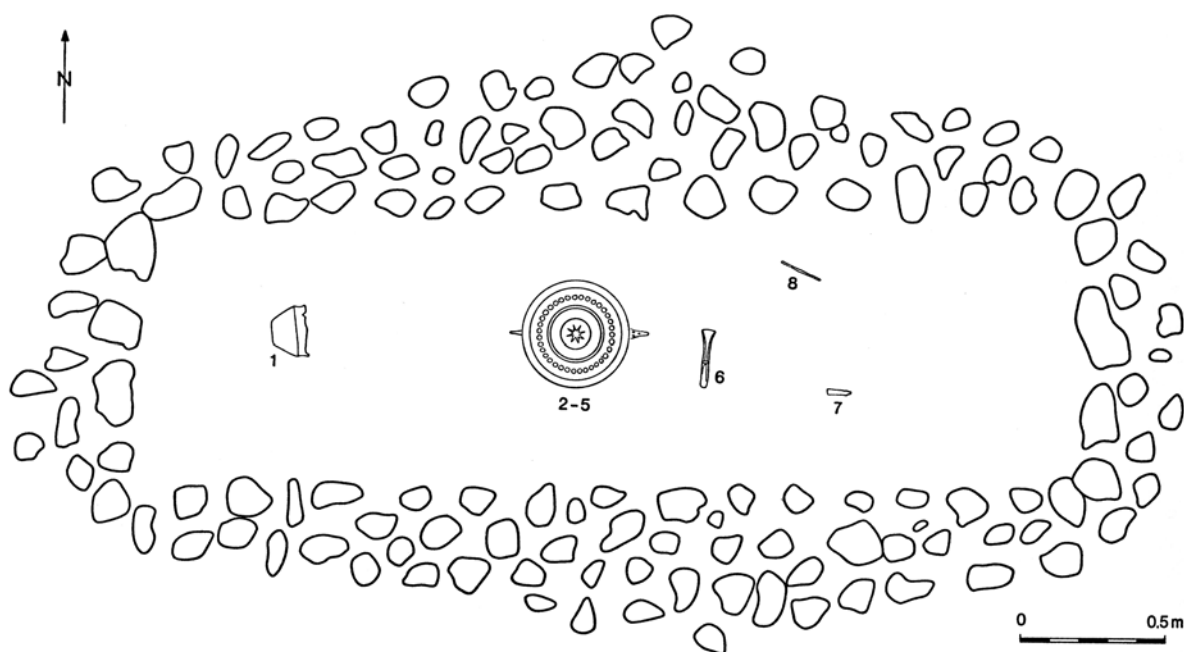


Figure 50: Plan of the grave in Jægersborg Hegn, Søllerød parish sb 19, Ke417 (from Aner & Kersten 1973:148 figure 92). 1 vessel, 2 gold disc, 3 sword blade, 4 belt hook, 5 four tutuli, 6 axe, 7 chisel, 8 awl.

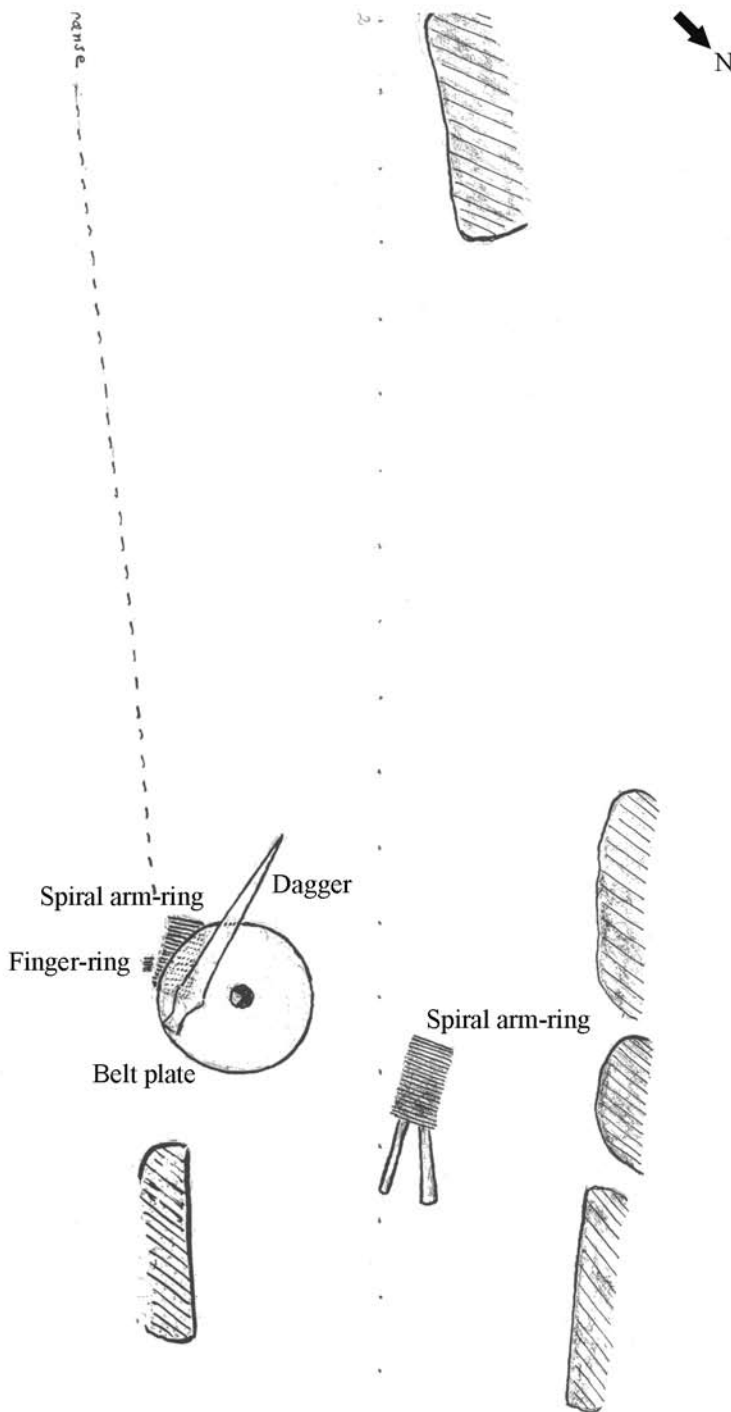


Figure 51: Plan of burial in mound sb nr 45, Jægersborg (from excavation report by Norling-Christiansen in the archive at the National Museum Copenhagen).

size of the sample it is not possible to make any artefact assemblage associations. The only difference that one can positively identify is that bronze tubes belong exclusively to one of the outfits, the corded skirt. The main variation within the female appearance is the clothing itself, and perhaps the presence (or not) of a belt plate.

Women's movements would mainly have been restricted by the trail of the long skirt and the weight of the artefacts. This means that some of the women, like the Egtved individual, would have been able to move their body almost as freely as the men (even though the tightness of the corded skirt

would have limited movement as well), whereas the women dressed in long skirts and/or heavy artefacts would have been more restricted in their body movements.

The only visible traceable body modification is the length and coiffure of the hair. There seems to be a correlation between the length of the skirt and the length of the hair. Short hair and a simple coiffure accompanies the corded skirt, and long hair and a complicated hairstyle is found with the long skirt. This pattern can also be seen in the Late Bronze Age figurines, except the kneeling Fårdal figurine (Eskildsen & Lomborg 1976). There has been no indication of odour and hygiene, with the exception of the comb, but that can probably be related to the apparent importance of the hair.

The women wore clothes made out of the same material as the men, which would also have had a similar feeling when handled. The women, however, wore large pieces of bronze jewellery; this would have produced a very different sensation of touch. A woman walking around wearing a big neck collar, a belt plate, four small tutuli, a dagger and c. 125 bronze tubes (the Ølby grave outfit) probably did not invite close physical contact. Her appearance would be very noticeable; one has the warm, softness of wool clothing contrasted with the shining cold metal. When it comes to the physical sensation of touch for the outfit/person, the women differ individually much more than the men did. This would have been dependent on the associated artefacts, whereas the men, except for their swords, only had discrete dress fittings. The women's jewellery is much more noticeable, and the individual woman's wealth and gender status would have been very important for determining the physical sensation of touch one would have experienced when she was in full costume.

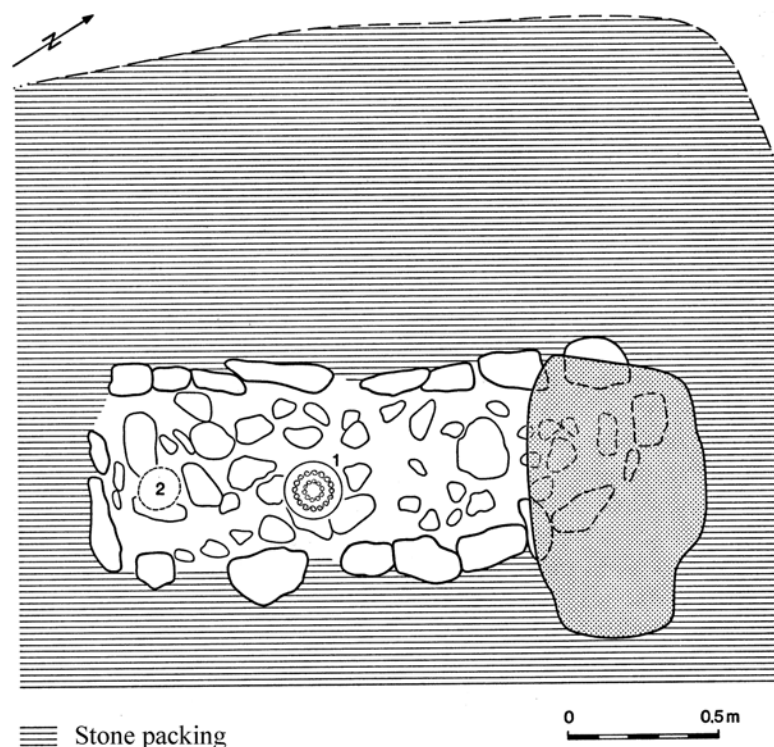
There is only one individual in this qualitative study who would have made a distinct sound when she was moving, i.e. the female buried in Ølby, but there are other graves with the same phenomenon (see Bergerbrant 2005b). The other women would not differ much from the sound the men made when they were moving.

It has been shown above that the traces of physical appearance can be found in the archaeological record. However, one needs a larger sample than is used to identify any relatively secure patterns. The woman's full appearance seems to have two different gender outfits that can be used for gender negotiation. The female-associated artefacts seem to cross cut the different outfits, except for the bronze tubes that are used specifically with the corded skirt. While artefacts like belt plates and neck-collars/neck-rings are exclusive to women, but not exclusively associated with either of the two female gender categories, the swords are exclusively as-

sociated with men; no inner separation among the men can be detected except for the presence of a cap or a sword. The two do not seem to have any internal correlation. Artefact-wise there seem to be two categories: that of men and that of women, whereas clothing-wise there are three or four distinct categories. Therefore, it seems likely that the society is based on two biological sexes within which there existed variation, and these variations in costume may be due to age and/or social roles in the Middle Bronze Age societies.

Appearance in the local perspective

As shown in chapter 3 there is a significant regional difference between the Sögel-Wohld and Val-sømagle burial traditions, both in the style of the bronze artefacts and in terms of social structure. In order to study which differences continue/disappear in Period II, four case studies from different areas within the region covered by the dissertation are presented below. The aim of these studies is to consider how clothing-related artefacts from the burials are used in the different areas over time. The hope is to understand if there are any gender differ-



ences or similarities between the areas and to determine if these change over time and how the different areas manifest their appearance. First the case studies will be presented, followed by a concluding

Figure 52: Plan of grave G, Glad-sakse sb nr 11, Ke382G (from Aner & Kersten 1973:137 figure 82). 1 belt plate, 2 teeth remains.

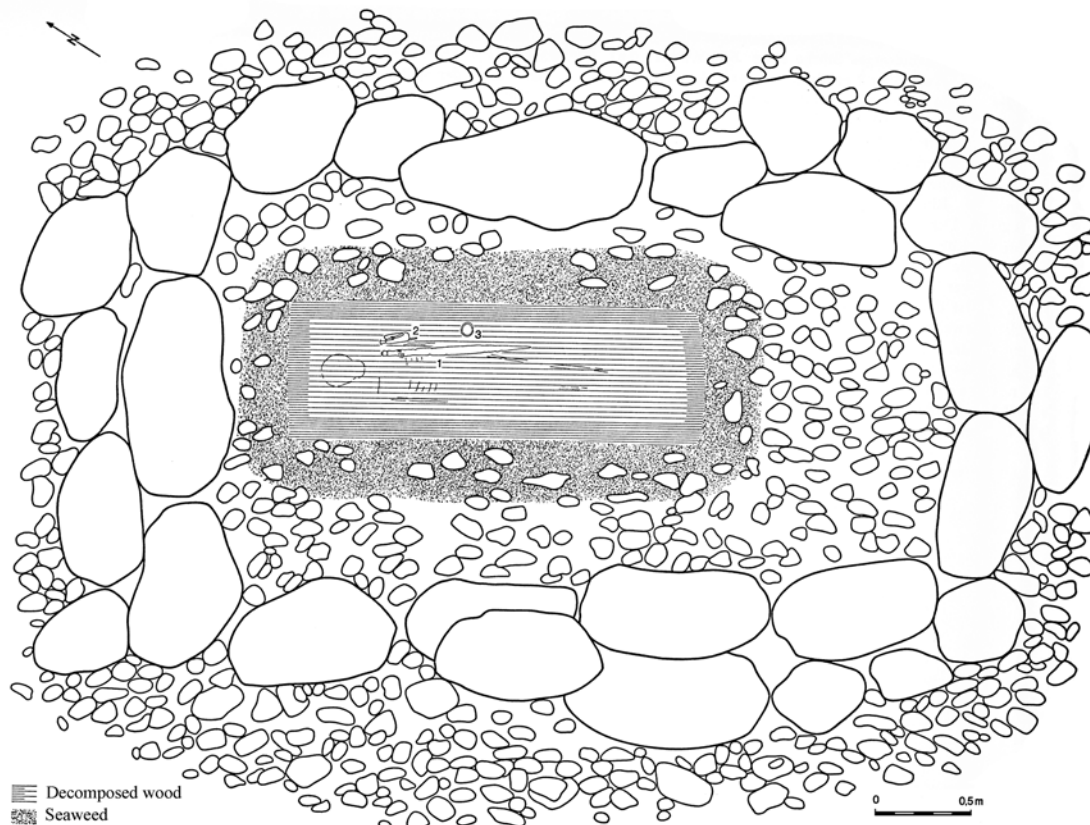


Figure 53: Plan of grave in Jægersborg, Gentofte parish sb nr 11, Ke369 (from Aner & Kersten 1973:128 figure 73). 1 sword blade, 2 leather bag with pin, knife, razor, bow to fibula, tweezers, and flint strike-a-light, a double button, 3 gold arm-ring.

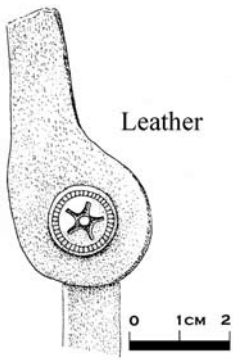


Figure 54: Double button in situ in a leather strap from Jægersborg, Ke369 (from Aner & Kersten 1973: Tafel 77).

discussion.

The regions included in the study are of varied sizes and geographical location (see figure 46). They are two regions from the former Valsømagle area (one larger area on Zealand and a smaller area on Funen) and two from the former Sögel-Wohlde area (one around Schleswig and the other on the Lüneburg Heath). These areas are chosen in order to show both a core area and a region that is in closer geographical proximity to the 'foreign' area in both old regions, and also to study the geographical change in cultural borders from Århus-Lemvig to the river Elbe. The areas have been chosen on the basis of their geographical location, number of excavated graves and how well they are excavated.

Case study north of Copenhagen

In this study four parishes form the basis for the analysis: Gentofte, Gladsaxe, Lyngby Tårnæk, and Søllerød, in northern Copenhagen. This case study provides an example for Zealand, although many local traits exist even on Zealand (see e.g. Rønne 1987a & b). Nevertheless, it works as an example when discussing the wider similarities and differences over the larger area within the scope of this dissertation.

Much of the Middle Bronze Age material from this region was discovered in the early twentieth century and a lot of this material lacks detailed information of the find circumstances. A number of the mounds were excavated under the supervision of King Frederik VII (but these, unfortunately, have not been published in Aner and Kersten with detailed information about the arrangement and interrelationship of the artefacts in the grave). However, especially in Gentofte and Gladsaxe parish, there are a number of well excavated, documented and published graves, which provide the material for this study.

Of the burials in this study (see appendix 2) only one assemblage for which the find circumstances

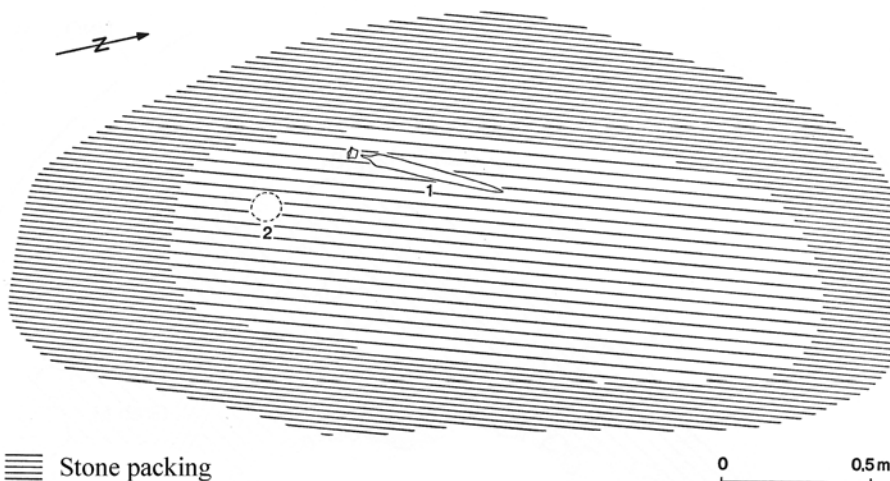
are just 'found in a mound' contains artefacts from more than one period (Ke426). There are a number of objects for which the only information we have is that they come from 'a mound'. One of these includes mixed male and female objects, and it is counted here as two graves in the total number of graves; however, these graves are only discussed superficially. As they are not a vital part of the analysis, in most cases all the finds coming from 'one mound' are treated as if they belonged to one burial, despite a level of uncertainty regarding the interpretation. In some cases all the information we have about female burials from a period in an area comes from a mixed find. In my opinion it is important to consider all the material, even if some of it has to be treated differently from burials or possible burials, in order to gain as full a picture as possible. By ignoring the less secure finds we risk losing vital information about the past, burials that indicate contacts between different areas, etc. As long as one is aware of the limitations of the evidence, some information can still be gleaned from finds with less than perfect documentation.

Unfortunately, the only Period IB grave that has been found in the region has no information about the position of the artefacts in the burial. It is a burial from Buddinge, Gladsaxe parish (sb nr 17) (Ke381) and the artefacts indicate that it is the remains of a wealthy man. The grave contained: a golden Lochhalsnadel; a gold spiral; a spearhead of Valsømagle type; a metal-hilted dagger of Valsømagle type; a belt hook, and a socketed pointed weapon with a terminal mount (Ke381, Lomborg 1969: 105ff, Vandkilde 1996:234, 461). This grave must in all cases be seen as a wealthy grave which contains a number of weapons and two clothing-related artefacts, the pin and the belt hook. It is exceptional in the presence of a Lochhalsnadel made of gold and the gold spiral, as there is very little gold in Period IB graves (see chapter 3).

There are eight graves with detailed information, either with a plan and/or written information that give us the placement of the artefacts in the burial from Period II. Six are male and two are female.

The Period II grave from Charlottenlund, Gentofte parish (sb nr 32) (Ke366B) is a rich burial. The buried male had had a dagger placed on his left shoulder, the hilt had gold inlays, and found in relation to the dagger was the head of a pin, below the dagger a double button, and a gold inlay belt hook had probably been placed in the waist area. Some of the small objects that appear to belong together are not found in close vicinity to each other. Perhaps the awl and the knife had been placed in an organic bag that

Figure 55: Plan of grave F, Gladsaxe sb nr 11, Ke382F (from Aner & Kersten 1973:136 figure 81). 1 sword blade, 2 teeth remains.



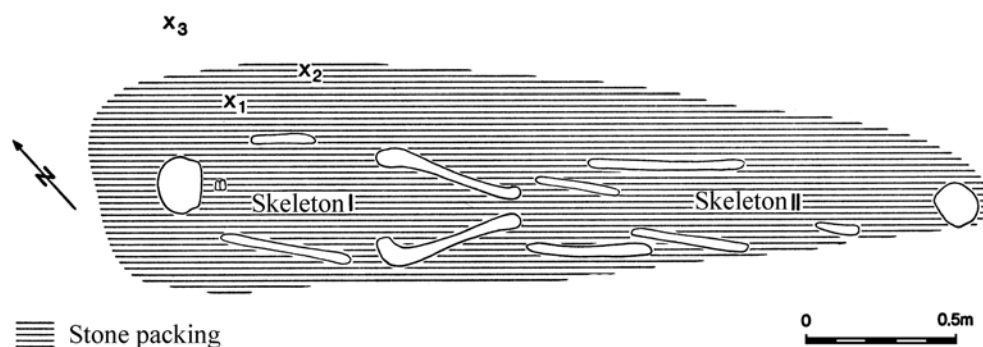


Figure 56: Plan of grave J, Gladsakse sb nr 11, Ke382J (from Aner & Kersten 1973:138 figure 83). 1 flint arrowhead, 2 and 3 unknown.

had been closed and positioned on the dress with the pin. The deceased had been placed on an oxhide in a cist partly made out of a hollowed-out oak log and partly of wooden boards (Ke336B, Brøndsted 1930, see figure 47 & 48).

From a partly destroyed grave from Gladsakse, (sb nr 11) grave K (Ke382K, see figure 49) we have a tweezers, a razor, a flint strike-a-light, and re-

mains of a possible hide and some wool threads; all these were placed in the waist region, and close to these objects was a dagger blade. The deceased person was placed on his side instead of in the normal supine position. This man differs from the norm, both by the body position and the placement of the dagger.

Grave B (sb nr 17) Klampenborg, Gentofte parish

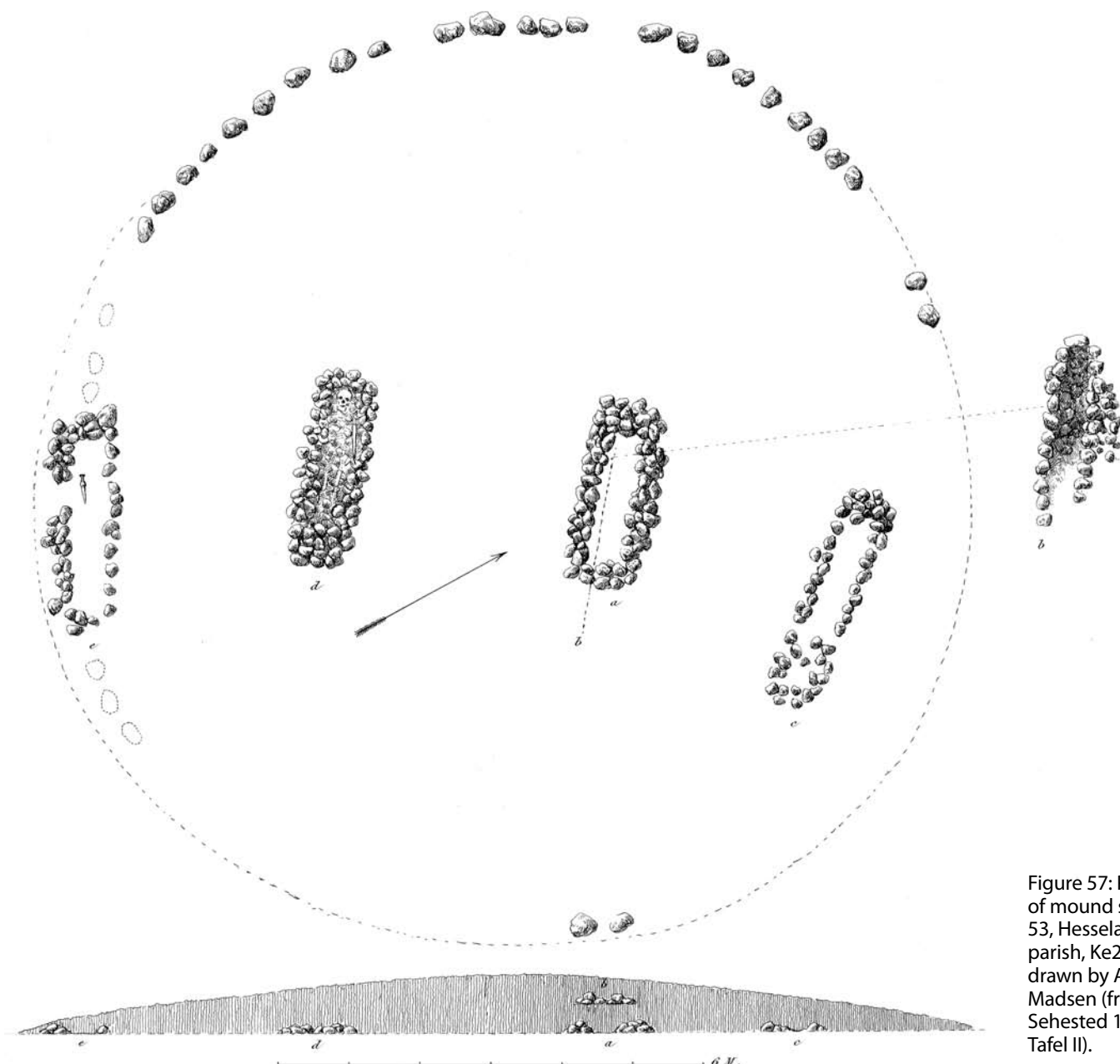


Figure 57: Plan of mound sb nr 53, Hesselager parish, Ke2006, drawn by A.P. Madsen (from Sehested 1884: Tafel II).

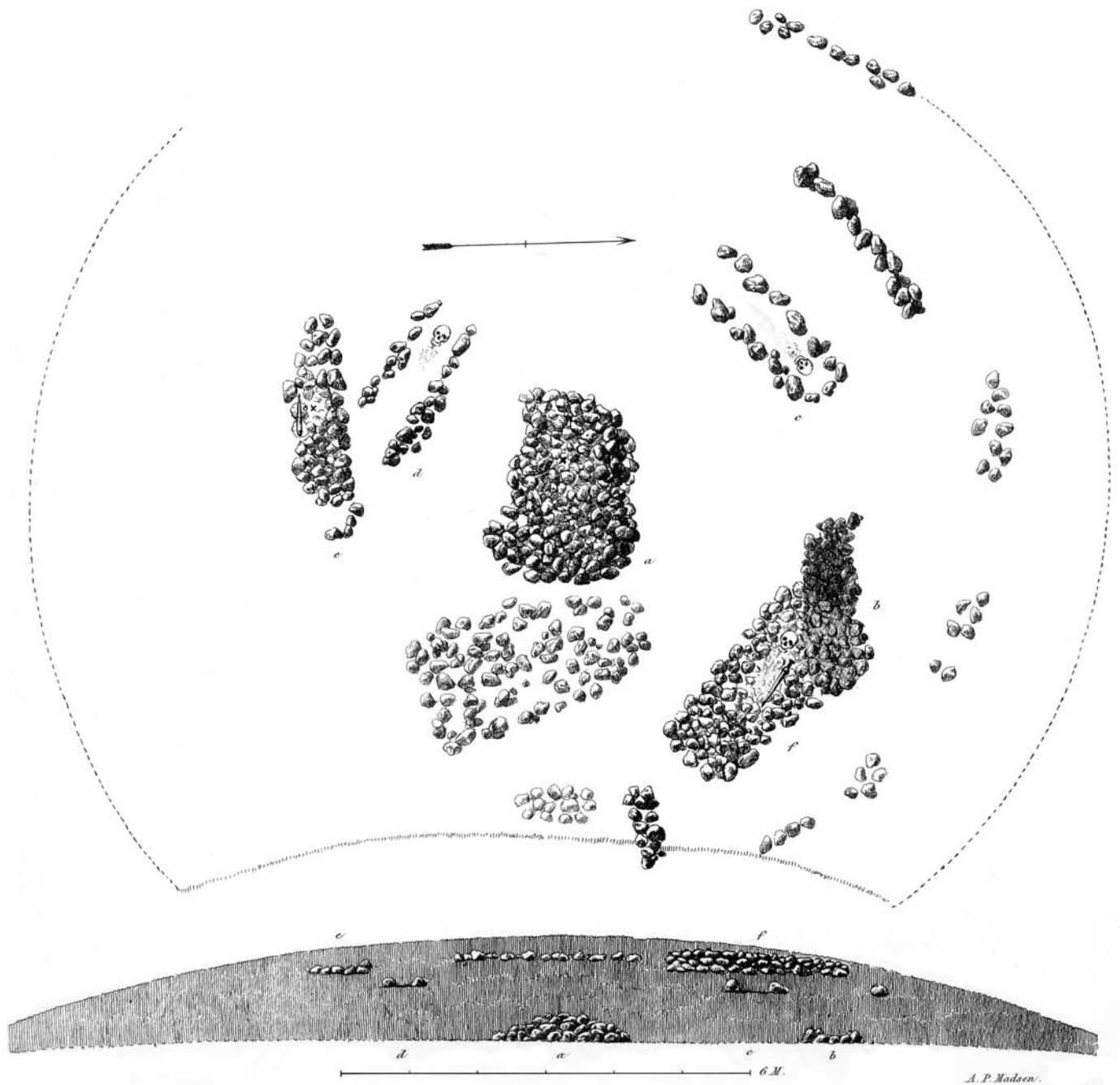


Figure 58: Plan of mound sb nr 69, Hesselager, Hesselager parish, Ke2010, drawn by A.P. Madsen (from Sehested 1884: Tafel VIII).

(Ke372B) is a probable male grave with some information about the position of the objects found in the grave. Close to remains of the teeth were a dagger blade and a pommel, while a fibula was placed on the torso, and further down a knife had been included. It is likely that this man was buried with his dagger on his left shoulder blade, a fibula placed on his chest and a knife, which was probably placed in a pouch by his waist.

A very special male grave has been found in Jægersborg Hegn, Søllerød parish (sb nr 19, Ke417, see figure 50). This grave contains something unusual: a gold disc that had been placed on the waist. Below the disc there was a sword blade, four tutuli and a belt hook, and a socket chisel had been placed next to the body on the left side, in the vicinity of the head. On the right side of the body, at

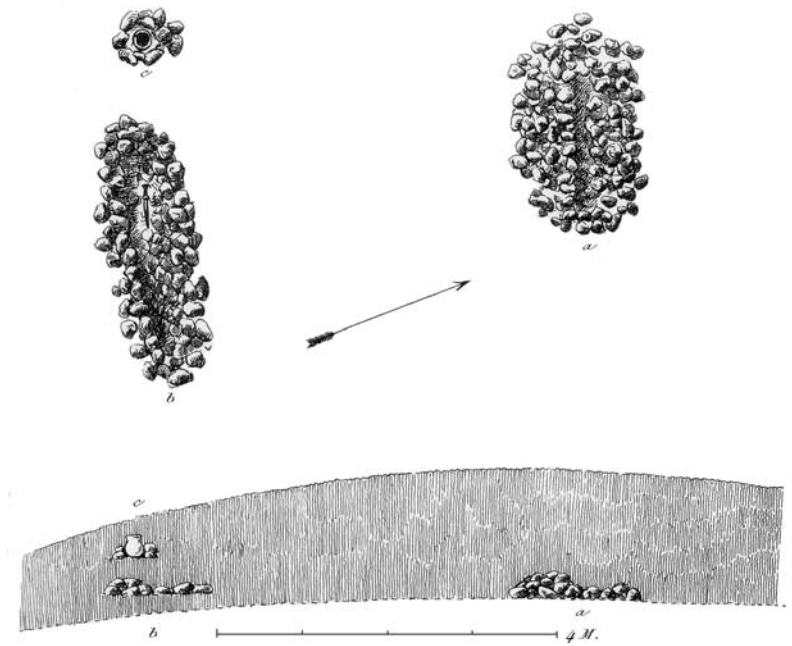
approximately the same place as the chisel on the other side, an awl and an axe had been positioned, probably partly placed on the torso, while a ceramic vessel had been placed at the feet. This grave contains a large amount of male-related artefacts that were, except for the sword, placed in a 'normal' position. However, the placement of the sword in the middle of the torso, and the act of covering it with a round disc, seem more typical of what one might expect from a female burial, where the placement of the dagger relates to the belt plate. However, the parallel is not exact, since the disc is of a very different kind than the belt plates. Nevertheless, it seems to be at the top of the burial covering the body, not part of the costume, as a symbol for something. One can imagine, then, that it might have had the same or similar symbolic meaning or significance

as the belt plates.

Another grave in Jægersborg Hegn (sb nr 21) (Ke418) has a written description of the placement of the objects in the grave. The artefacts comprised: an axe, a tutulus, a flint strike-a-light and a sword. These were probably placed as follows: the sword was on the man's left shoulder, while the tutulus was placed in the waist region, where a belt might be placed. Near the tutulus was a pouch that had held the flint strike-a-light. An axe had been placed next to the body, so that the bronze axe ended up close to the head of the deceased. Parallels may be drawn with a grave found at Søllerød, Søllerød parish (Ke431), where the placement of the objects mirrors that from the second grave at Jægersborg Hegn. The only substantial difference was that at Søllerød a pyrite was found and it lacked an axe.

It seems that there is a fairly standard way of arranging a male burial in this region. All except one is placed in supine position, and four of them have their sword/dagger placed on their left shoulder, axes and chisels seem to have been placed next to the body with the bronze material by the head. The small objects, such as awls, flint strike-a-lights, razors and tweezers are generally placed at the waist in a pouch or small bag, and in one case the awl is placed on the right side of the head. Only two graves contain more than one weapon, in both cases a sword and an axe. Only one grave contains objects that can be related to body changing practices, if one does not count awls in this category. Fire making equipment is found in half of the graves. There is an emphasis on the upper part of the body and the waist region, and only one grave has a ceramic vessel placed at the feet. Gold objects were found in two of the graves, one of which stands out as extraordinary in many ways (Ke417). The three graves without detailed information are: Sorgenfri, Lynge-Tårnby parish (Ke407); Skodsborg, Søllerød parish (Ke429C); and Søllerød (Ke430). However, the objects found all fit well with the known examples of better excavated graves.

A woman wearing two spiral arm-rings (one on each forearm), a finger-ring on the left hand, a dagger with a metal pommel at the waist, and a belt plate had been buried in Jægersborg (sb nr 45), Gentofte parish (Ke371, Norling-Christensen 1943, see figure 51). Gladsakse (sb nr 11) grave G held a female inhumation (Ke382G, see figure 52), but as there was no evidence as to where the



head had been it is hard to fully interpret this grave. The deceased woman had worn a belt plate on the waist and a tutulus had been placed either at the upper torso or down by the feet, depending on the direction of the head. A grave from Buddinge (sb 62, Ke372) includes: two spiral arm-rings, one belt plate, one neck collar, eight tutuli, and one bronze comb. It is likely that she had worn one spiral arming on each forearm, had the neck collar at the neck and the belt plate and the comb on the waist. It is harder to predict the placement of the tutuli as their placement on the body varies widely. The placement of the comb is based on the finds from Skrydstrup and Egtved (see above). Both the mixed find from Jægersborg Hegn, Søllerød parish (Ke426) and the objects found in Bagsværd, Gladsakse parish (sb nr 2, K2377) contain objects that correlate with the above picture. The Period II objects found in the mound in Jægersborg Hegn are a neck collar, a belt plate and a tutulus, and the mound in Bagsværd contained a neck collar, belt plate and dagger. In this region the most important female objects were the belt plate, followed by the neck collar

Figure 59: Plan of mound sb nr 80, Hesselager, Hesselager parish, Ke2013, drawn by A.P. Madsen (from Sehested 1884: Tafel VIII).

area	PI	PII	♂	♀	?	PIII	♂	♀	?	PII/PIII	MBA	♂	♀	?	Total
Copenhagen area	1	18	8	6	4	24	12	2	10		1	21	4	0	65
south-eastern Funen	0	7	3	4	0	6	2	2	2		0	18	1	0	31
southernSchleswig	6	13	10	0	3	17	11	2	4		0	63	13	1	99
Lüneburg Culture	0	35	14	21	0	22	15	7	0		0	51	9	7	108

Table 4:1: The number of probable burials (excavated) in the Middle Bronze Age in the different studied regions in the study.

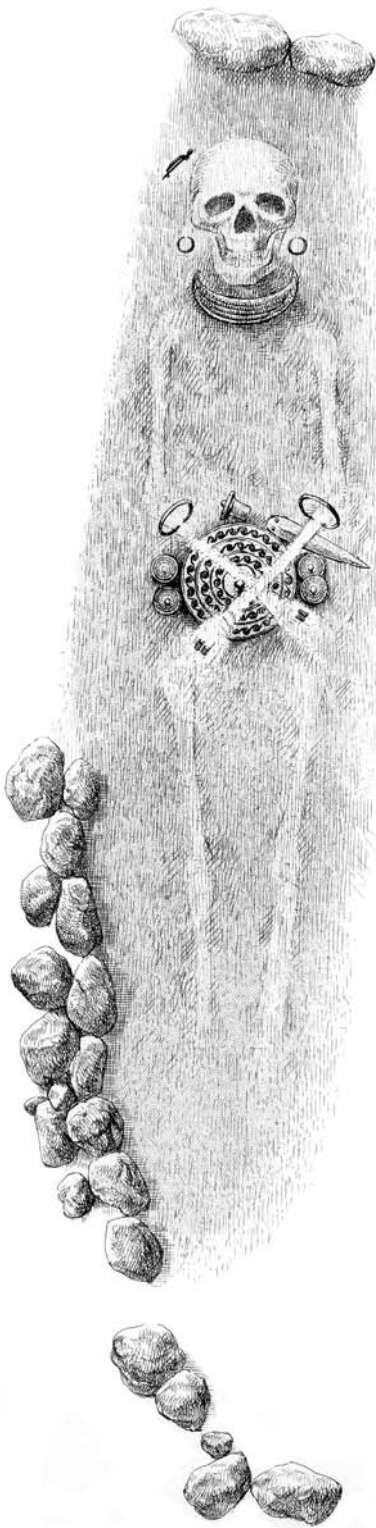


Figure 60: Plan of burial B in sb nr 70, Hesselager, Hesselagerparish, Ke2011B drawn by A.P. Madsen (from Sehested 1884: Tafel IV).

terms the sword/dagger seems to be an important artefact for both male and female, as there are only two graves that are attributed to Period II that lack a dagger/sword (Ke379 & 382G). Both men and women have dress accessories, while tutuli seem to be unisex, and belt hooks, fibulae, pins, and awls are only found in male graves. The exclusively fe-

male artefacts in this region are: neck collars, belt plates, and arm-rings. For Period III there are both cremation and inhumation burials. Below, only the inhumation burials will be discussed. The burial of a Period III male in Jægersborg, Gentofte parish (sb nr 11, Ke369, see figure 53) is a clear example of how in Scandinavia the pin is used in relation to a pouch, i.e. it is not part of the other pieces of clothing. Here we have a well preserved grave of a male that had been buried with his sword laying on his left shoulder and pointing downwards, and on the left arm he wore a gold arm-ring. Placed on his left upper arm was a leather pouch containing the bow from a fibula, a knife, a razor, a tweezers and a flint strike-a-light. The bag had been closed with the pin, and found in relation to this there was also a double button still in situ in a leather strap (see figure 54). Another grave, this time with gold inlay in the handle of the sword, is that at Vedbæk (sb nr 59), Søllerød parish grave A. According to the written information it seems that the sword had been placed on the left shoulder, and the fibula and belt hook were on the torso. In this region it is typical for the sword or dagger in a male grave to be placed on the left shoulder. With the exception of the above-mentioned example, this can be seen in Period II and this burial tradition continues into Period III as seen in: sb nr 11, Gladsaske grave F (Ke382F) and the possible double burial at Lyngby, Lyngby-Tårnby parish (Ke404).

Nine of the burials in this phase have a sword, or ten if you count the one with two swords in the double grave from Lyngby. Four of the graves have some toilet equipment, i.e. tweezers and/or razors, objects that indicate body-changing practises, such as shaving. Belt hooks and double buttons, when found with gender related artefacts, are only found with male equipment. Therefore, it seems that these objects are uniquely male artefacts in this region. The most common male assemblages are those with a sword in combination with a belt hook or double button or a tutulus. The main focus in the male graves is still on the weapon, but it typically occurs with an object that probably could be related to a belt, i.e. a belt hook, a double button, or a tutulus. Even though fire-lighting equipment exists in the graves, the importance of it seems to have diminished since period II. Two graves contain gold objects.

male artefacts in this region are: neck collars, belt plates, and arm-rings.

For Period III there are both cremation and inhumation burials. Below, only the inhumation burials will be discussed.

The burial of a Period III male in Jægersborg, Gentofte parish (sb nr 11, Ke369, see figure 53) is a clear example of how in Scandinavia the pin is used in relation to a pouch, i.e. it is not part of the other pieces of clothing. Here we have a well preserved grave of a male that had been buried with his sword laying on his left shoulder and pointing downwards, and on the left arm he wore a gold arm-ring. Placed on his left upper arm was a leather pouch containing the bow from a fibula, a knife, a razor, a tweezers and a flint strike-a-light. The bag had been closed with the pin, and found in relation to this there was also a double button still in situ in a leather strap (see figure 54).

Another grave, this time with gold inlay in the handle of the sword, is that at Vedbæk (sb nr 59), Søllerød parish grave A. According to the written information it seems that the sword had been placed on the left shoulder, and the fibula and belt hook were on the torso. In this region it is typical for the sword or dagger in a male grave to be placed on the left shoulder. With the exception of the above-mentioned example, this can be seen in Period II and this burial tradition continues into Period III as seen in: sb nr 11, Gladsaske grave F (Ke382F) and the possible double burial at Lyngby, Lyngby-Tårnby parish (Ke404).

Nine of the burials in this phase have a sword, or ten if you count the one with two swords in the double grave from Lyngby. Four of the graves have some toilet equipment, i.e. tweezers and/or razors, objects that indicate body-changing practises, such as shaving. Belt hooks and double buttons, when found with gender related artefacts, are only found with male equipment. Therefore, it seems that these objects are uniquely male artefacts in this region. The most common male assemblages are those with a sword in combination with a belt hook or double button or a tutulus. The main focus in the male graves is still on the weapon, but it typically occurs with an object that probably could be related to a belt, i.e. a belt hook, a double button, or a tutulus. Even though fire-lighting equipment exists in the graves, the importance of it seems to have diminished since period II. Two graves contain gold objects.

There are two possible female graves from Period III: Holte (Ke415) and Jægersborg Hegn (Ke426), both from Søllerød parish. The first one was found by a farmer in a mound that also contained a period III sword, and the information given indicates that the sword and the possible female burial were found at different levels of the mound. The deceased

³⁶ Ke 2007 (Sehested 43) is an example of a ploughed grave where a dagger was found just outside the grave, and it seems likely that the dagger belonged to the grave and had been removed by the plough. However, if this is not so then there are 15 empty graves (Aner & Kersten 1977:154–164, Sehested 1884:60).

³⁷ The blade is only c. 27 cm so it seems more likely to be a dagger or possibly a short sword. However, the placement on the left shoulder is typical of a male grave, whereas daggers in female graves are generally placed in the waist region (often in association with a belt plate).

woman was buried in a corded skirt, as signified by the bronze tubes, and with her she had a tutulus and a knife. The second possible female grave was found in a mound that has female objects related to both Period II and III, and there seem to be the remains of two female burials in the mound. The grave dating to this phase included a neck ring, a spiral-ring, a fibula and a knife (Ke426). The grave found in Jægersborg Hegn seems to mark a continuity with the female ideal of the previous period, while the grave from Holte is slightly different. The latter not only has its bronze objects that relate to the lower part of the body, but it also has a more everyday object, a knife, whereas none of the other female graves contain objects that might have been used in practical everyday life.

Despite the increased number of graves that can be dated to Period III there is a decrease in the number of visible female graves, and none of these contain a belt plate, the standard female object in period II. The female status objects seem to have become much more uncommon, at least in the graves. From this it is tempting to hypothesise that the female status diminished from Period II or shifted to another arena, for example, to hoards.

The nine graves with Period III artefacts that cannot be determined to either sex generally have only one object such as a dagger, tutulus, knife or fibula.

Of the graves that can only be determined loosely to the Middle Bronze Age, there are eight inhumations and two cremations without any remaining artefacts. Eleven graves have artefacts with a long lifespan or which are too fragmented to determine to a period, and all these graves have just one artefact each, from a flint spearhead to a sword blade. Two people were buried together with their heads at opposite ends of the grave in Gladsakse, grave J (sb nr 11, Ke382J). One of the deceased had a flint arrowhead placed close to his left shoulder.

There are two double graves in the region, one probably dated to the Middle Bronze Age, where the two bodies were placed with their heads at the opposite ends, and one Period III grave with the buried men placed shoulder to shoulder. There are only a small number of 'empty' graves, which could be due to the fact that many of the mounds were excavated during the nineteenth century and not everyone recorded or recognised 'empty' burials then. This seems to indicate a stratified society where not everyone had the right to be buried in a mound. For example, there are no signs of children buried in the area. The females are invisible during Period IB, while later a few women become very visible during Period II, but female visibility diminishes again during Period III. In the area there is gold present in the graves during the full Middle Bronze Age, but it is found exclusively in the male graves. Weap-

ons seem to be important in all three periods, and in both Period IB and II there is more than one weapon category, daggers/swords, spearhead, and axe; in Period III, however, only dagger/sword are present.

Case study south-eastern Funen

This case study deals with a smaller area where many of the mounds were excavated between the years 1878-1881 by N.F.B. Sehested (1884). The excavations were very well documented with both text and drawings. Therefore we have an area with detailed information about the placement of artefacts, and this relates not only to their position in the grave, but also detailed information such as the direction the decoration on an object faced. Indeed, Sehested's methods were far ahead of his time and, for example, he excavated entire mounds instead of only investigating sample trenches. It was only after World War II that the excavation of whole mounds became the norm in Denmark (Thrane 1984a:115).

The material analysed here comes from the parish Hesselager, Gudme, Svendborg (see appendix 3). Almost half of the graves (14³⁶) contained no preserved artefacts. It is likely that these people were buried in their clothing with possibly added bone or horn objects, like the older man from Borum Eshøj. As there is no preserved skeletal material it is pointless to sex these individuals.

The only secure male grave dating to Period II is a grave (Ke2006D, Sehested 1998:30D, see figure 57) with a sword blade.³⁷ The sword in the grave was placed on the left shoulder. The two secure male graves (Ke2010E & 2010F, Sehested 1884:40E&F, see figure 58) from Period III both had a sword blade on their left shoulder, as well as other objects. Grave 38B (Sehested 1884:55f, Ke 2013B, see figure 59) is a probable inhumation grave with a dagger blade placed on the left shoulder. This placement indicates that this is a male grave. There is another al-

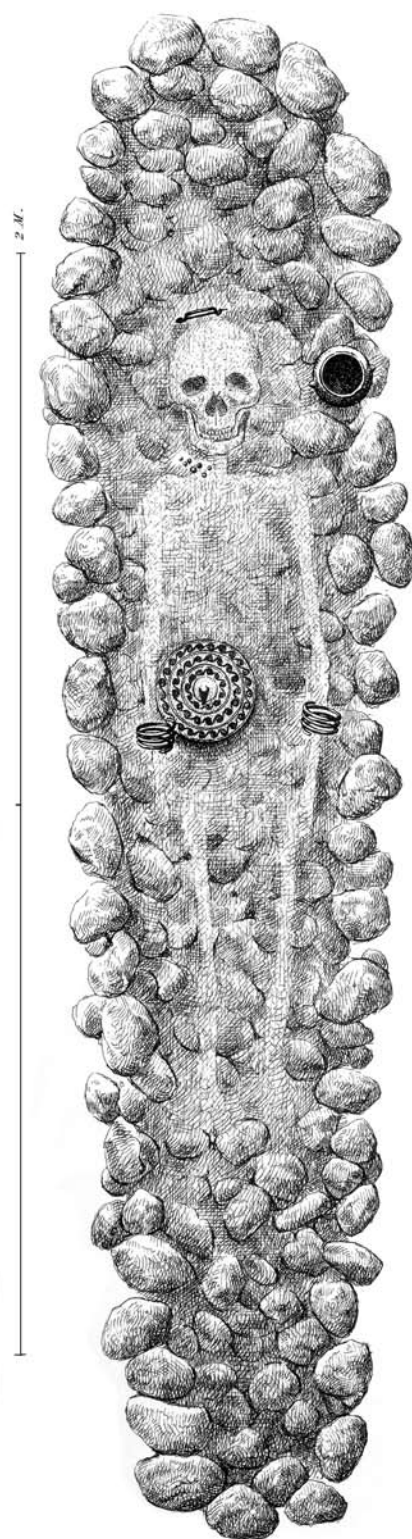


Figure 61: Plan of burial A in sb nr 81, Hesselager, Hesselager parish, Ke2014A, drawn by A.P. Madsen (from Sehested 1884: Tafel VI).

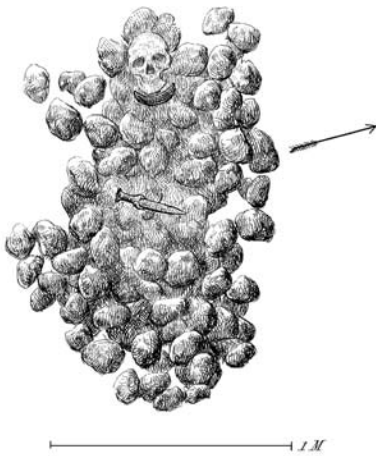


Figure 62: Plan of burial in sb nr 104, Hesselager, Hesselager parish, Ke2017, drawn by A.P. Madsen (from Sehested 1884: Tafel IX).

most identical grave in the area (Ke2006E, Sehested 1884:30E), but the difference here is that it is a full metal-hilted dagger and that it appears to have been placed on the right shoulder instead of the left. During Period II the only objects that can be related to the male's sphere are dagger/sword blades. During Period III the males in the area seem to have had more ways to indicate their masculinity. In Period II there are no objects indicating

hygiene practices, whereas during Period III one of the male graves (Ke2010E) includes a razor and tweezers. The male in this grave also wore a gold finger-ring.

The four female graves (Ke2011B, 2014A, 2017 & 2020, Sehested 1884:32B, 37A & 45, see figure 60, 61 & 62) belonging to Period II are all better equipped than the contemporary male graves where bronze objects are concerned. Two of the female graves also contained a dagger (Ke 2011B & 2017). This parallels the male graves, only the females have their daggers placed differently, in the waist region. They were also accompanied by other objects.

There is a slightly higher degree of variability among the content of female graves, but all of them have some kind of object in the neck region, either a neck collar (Ke2011B, 2017 & 2020) or bead/s (either in the shape of a necklace or sewn onto the blouse) (Ke2014A & 2020). They also have an emphasis on the waist area, where three have a belt plate (Ke2011B, 2014A & 2020) and two have a dagger. There is a large range in the number of bronze objects, from just two (Ke2020) to 18 (Ke2011B). The latter must count as among the richer burials in metal objects on Funen, even though there are some other female graves with considerable wealth, for example in Hasmark Vestermark, Norup, Lunde,

Odense (Ke 1818B).

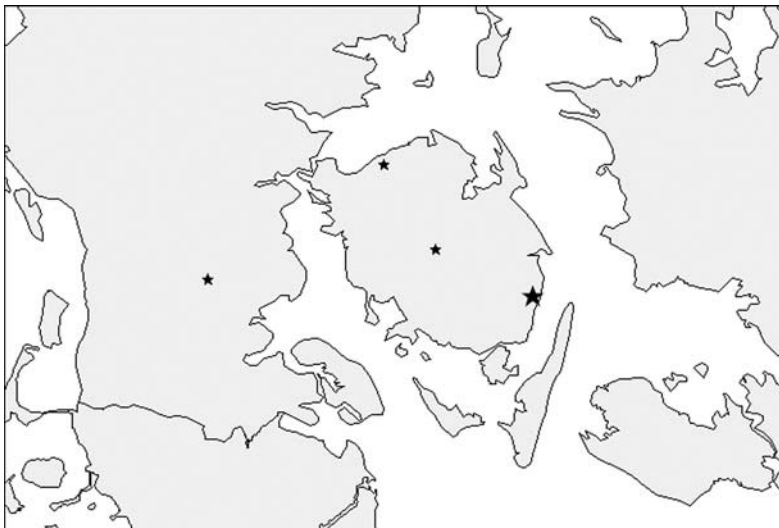
Special for this region and Funen are a number of female graves with a fibula placed over the head (see figure 63). There are two Period II graves from Hesselager parish with this distinctive placement (Ke2011B & 2014A). This indicates that these women wore head gear that was different from the ones known from the oak log coffin graves. Therefore these women should have stood out from the 'ordinary' south Scandinavian women. It has been pointed out that head gear is a prominent feature that can be seen from a distance, and it is therefore a good visible marker of group belonging (Wobst 1977) and identity.

On Funen there are two more burials with the placement of the fibula on the west side above the head. One grave is Kratholmgård, Fangel, Odense (Ke1846B). The objects found in this grave are similar to the ones found in Hesselager. The artefacts are: one fibula, one ceramic pot, one belt plate, one arm-ring, one dagger blade and pommel, and four spiral finger-rings. The other grave is from Brandholt, Skovby parish, Odense (Ke1889A), and it contained a fibula, five amber beads, one spiral finger-ring, two ceramic pots and possibly, even though find circumstances for these are insecure, one arm-ring, one fibula and one dagger blade (the excavators believe that the objects come from the destroyed central part of the grave, Albrechtsen 1962).

The women wearing this kind of headdress seem to be well equipped and, for example, three of them include a belt plate. During Period II there are a number of rich female graves on Funen, and some, it seems, hold more equipment than could be used at one time (Asingh & Rasmussen 1989:80). There is, for example, the grave from Torøhuse, Kærums, Båge, Odense (Ke 1777) that includes three belt plates, eight tutuli, one arm-ring, one spiral arm-ring and one fibula. As one of the belt plates has buckle ornamentation and the burial is not properly excavated (i.e. we do not have the exact position of the objects) this might reflect influences from the Lünenburg culture, where we have graves (see below) with many round plates used as ornamentation on the torso. The objects might therefore have been used all at once if this is a true parallel.

The wealth of bronze objects as seen in some female graves on Funen during Period II is not so readily apparent during Period III (Asingh & Rasmussen 1989:80f). This can be seen in the fact that all the belt plates and neck collars found on the island belong to Period II.³⁸ On Funen there are in total 21 belt plates dated to Period II, deriving from 12 graves, two hoards, and two stray finds/hoards. Eleven neck collars³⁹ are found on the island, ten of which are from graves and one from a hoard. Despite the fairly large assemblages of female graves containing the visible female artefacts during Peri-

Figure 63: Distribution of burials with fibula placed at the side of the head. Large star = two graves.



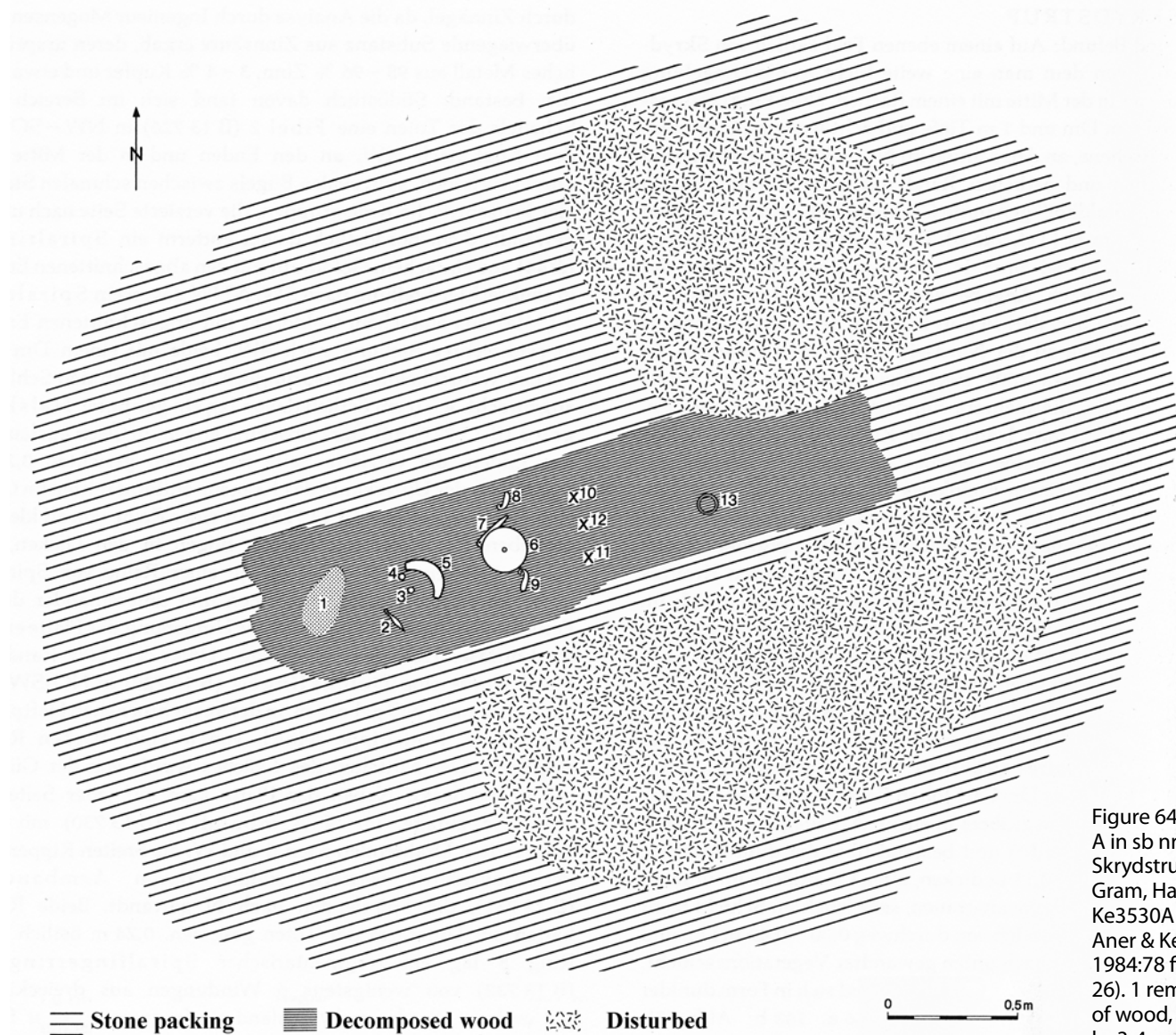


Figure 64: Grave A in sb nr 57, Skrydstrup, Gram, Haderslev, Ke3530A (from Aner & Kersten 1984:78 figure 26). 1 remains of wood, 2 fibula, 3-4 gold spiral rings, 5 neck collar, 6 belt plate, 7 dagger blade, 8-9 arm-rings, 10-11 spiral finger-rings, 12 spiral tubes, 13 ankle-ring.

od II, something quite dramatic seems to happen at the transition to Period III. In my specific area of study the focus on the wealth connected to appearance and grave furnishings shifts from female to male between Period II and III.

This special placement of the fibula can also be seen in Skrydstrup parish, Gram district, Haderslev County (Ke3516D, see figure 64). Willroth connects this grave with the Lüneburg culture; he argues that it is a grave with Nordic objects, but that the placement of the fibula can connect the grave with the Lüneburg culture (Willroth 1989:94ff). I, however, disagree with Willroth, as this seems to be an indisputably Nordic grave. The artefacts in the grave are: one fibula, two Schläfenringe, one necklace made of amber beads, glass beads and bronze spirals, one belt plate, one more amber bead, two arm-rings and one tutulus. This may be easily compared with graves from Funen. For example, three contain belt plates and one of the graves from Hesselager (Ke 2011B) also has two Schläfenringe, two arm-rings, bronze spirals, four tutuli, in addition to a neck collar, four finger-rings, and

one dagger blade and pommel. In my opinion the grave from Skrydstrup (Ke3516D) is clearly related to Funen and probably contains a woman who originated from Funen, but who, for one reason or another, moved to Jutland. Perhaps this is a tangible example of intermarriage within different areas within the south Scandinavian Bronze Age? The ornamentation on the belt plate from Skrydstrup (Ke 3516D) also fits in well with the ornamentation on belt plates from Funen. The borders on the belt plate include networks of squares and triangles that are not found on any other belt plate from Haderslev County, yet there are many belt plates on Funen with similar ornamentation incorporating networks of geometrical shapes. Rønne (1987a) has shown that different style elements and how they are combined can be related to different regional areas. One can therefore argue that the similarity in ornamentation between the belt plates from Skrydstrup (Ke3516D) and Funen strengthens the likelihood that the woman buried in Skrydstrup had strong ties with Funen. Another argument against Willroth's interpretation is that the well-known

³⁸ The study is based on the material in Aner & Kersten vol 3. The graves with belt plates are Ke1777, 1799B, 1818B, 1846B, 2011B, 2014A, 2020 & 2168B; in mounds but with mixed assemblages Ke1744C, 1784, 1856 & 1917; in hoards or as stray finds Ke 1781, 1868, 2109 & 2110.

³⁹ From graves Ke 1730, 1818B, 2010C, 2011B, 2017, 2020 & 2172; from mounds with mixed or possibly mixed assemblages Ke 1744C, 1753, & 1835; and from one hoard Ke1868.

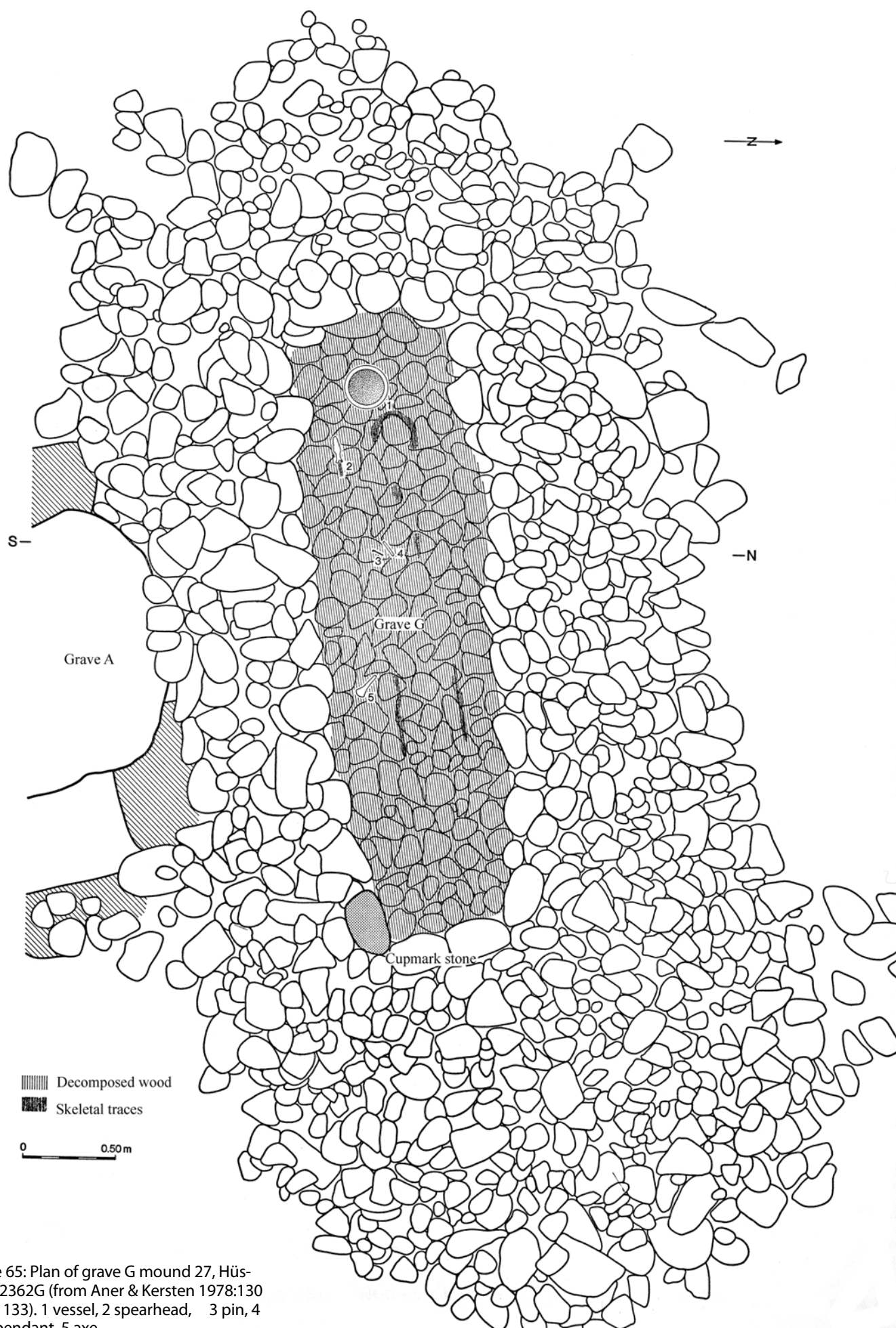


Figure 65: Plan of grave G mound 27, Hüby, Ke2362G (from Aner & Kersten 1978:130 figure 133). 1 vessel, 2 spearhead, 3 pin, 4 slate pendant, 5 axe.

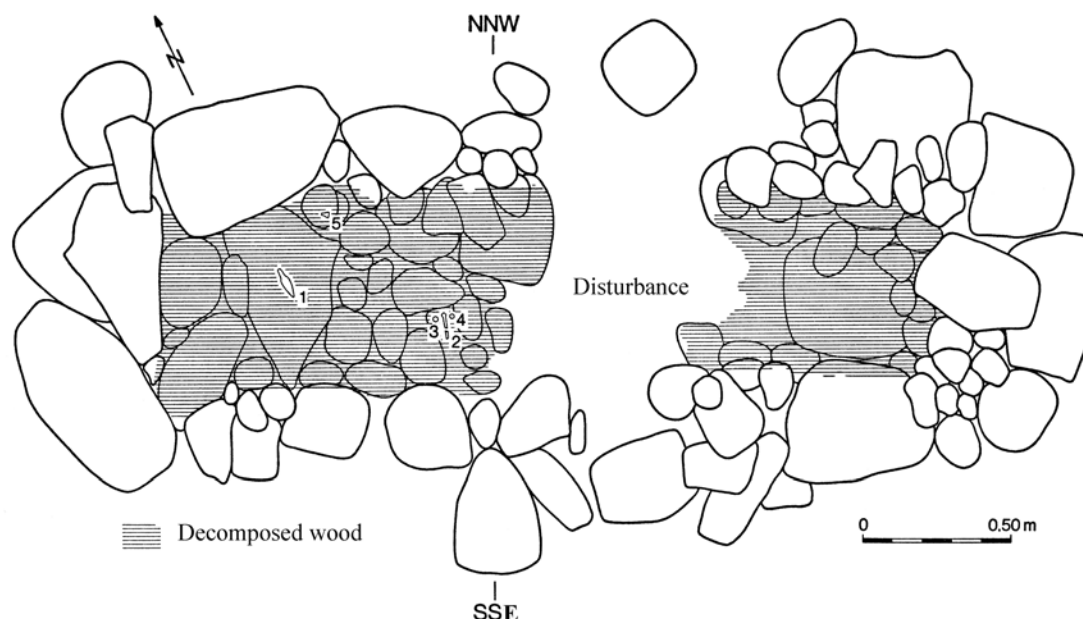


Figure 66:
Plan of grave A
mound 8, Dan-
newerk, Ke2340
(from An-
er & Kersten
1978:109 fig-
ure 109). 1 flint
strike-a-light, 2
pin, 3-4 amber
beads, 5 twee-
ers.

40 Johanna Mestorf
(1829-1909) was a Ger-
man archaeologist who
was an important per-
son for the contacts be-
tween the Scandinavi-
an and German archae-
ology. She was respon-
sible for the translation
of many Scandinavi-
an texts into German.
She was also an impor-
tant archaeologist in
her own right and was
mainly active in Sch-
leswig-Holstein. She
became the director of
Museum of National
Antiquities in Kiel in
1891 and was appoint-
ed professor in Kiel in
1899 (Dias-Andreu &
Sørensen 11ff).

Haarknotenfibel that the author relates the fibula from Skrydstrup to are generally found behind the back of the head, and they are mainly dated to Period III (Bergmann 1970:B56, Laux 1971:32f).

Case study southern Schleswig

For this study material from Aner and Kersten's volume 4 and Willroth's study of Angel and Schwansen have been used for interpreting the region (Aner & Kersten 1978, Willroth 1992). The material can be seen in appendix 4. Willroth (1992:45ff) has included a number of graves with flint daggers of type V in his Sögel-Wohldede period. As these are given an earlier date by Lomborg (1976:69), these are not included in this analysis. A large number of graves that Aner and Kersten (1978) have designated to the broad phase Middle Bronze Age have been dated to a specific period, i.e. Period I, II or III by Willroth (1992:488-497). In most cases Aner and Kersten's determinations are followed here since Willroth's dating does not seem fully reliable, and he sometimes determines graves to a period without adequate justification.

The prehistory of the region has been studied for a long time, with the first publications on the subject dating to 1719/20. In the latter half of the nineteenth century large numbers of Bronze Age mounds were excavated in Schleswig-Holstein. After Mestorf's⁴⁰ death in 1909 there was a decline in excavations being undertaken. It was not until the mid twentieth century that they started to increase again (Willroth 1992:34f, 45ff). In order to take into account all the known material, my study includes professionally excavated graves as well as material that was found while ploughing or robbing the graves.

In this case study Schleswig and its surroundings are investigated, including the former parishes

Dannewek, Fahrdorf, Hüsby, Jagel, Neuberend, Nübel, Schaalby, Schleswig, Schuby and Selk. A large number of 'empty' graves have been excavated, and some of these graves could equally well belong to the Late Neolithic. As this type of burial only tends to be noted in passing in the professionally excavated reports, they are all included in the discussion, while it should also be appreciated that many 'empty' graves have probably gone missing through the years of less detailed reports. There are also a number of bronze artefacts that have been found in mounds that have been ploughed out or destroyed in some other way (Aner & Kersten 1978). Seven of the graves contained artefacts, often a sword, which has gone missing. These graves can only be broadly dated to the Middle Bronze Age. There are only a few graves which were adequately excavated and give information about the placing of the objects, and which probably have most of the bronze objects recorded. Many of the nineteenth century (or earlier, but in modern times) plundered or excavated mounds only contained sword/dagger blades and gold rings, for example, Ke2417 (near Schuby), Ke2343 (Dannewerk), Ke2400 and Ke2399 (both in Klappschau, Schleswig). These finds are unlikely to be good representatives for the Middle Bronze Age burials as the finds are more likely to be the result of what the plunderer/excavator was purposely looking for. Thrane (2006:491)

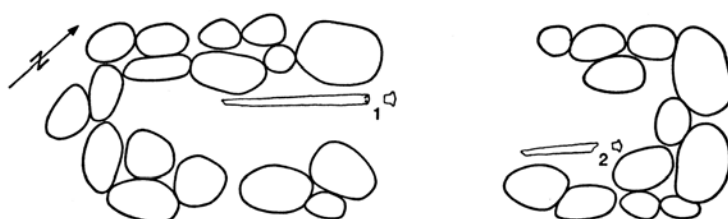
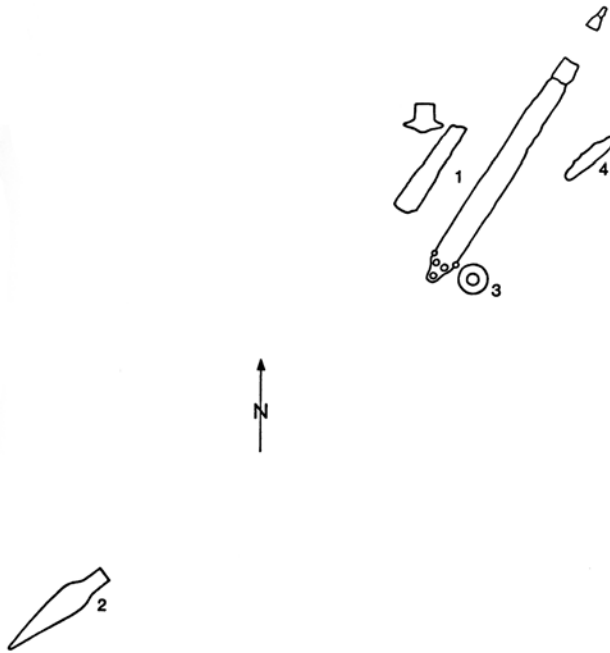


Figure 67:
Plan of grave B
mound 38, Schu-
by, Ke2410B
(from An-
er & Kersten
1978:151 figure
155). 1 sword
blade and pom-
mel, 2 sword
blade and pom-
mel. Scale un-
known.

Figure 68: Plan of the burial in mound 54, Schuby, Ke2413 (from Aner & Kersten 1978:155 figure 159[SB1]). 1 sword blade, 2 spearhead, 3 two tututi, 4 tweezers and flint strike-a-light. Scale 1:10.



points out that “swords, spearheads and axes (palstaves) were prominent among the early finds that filled the showcases of Thomsen’s museum because they were big and solid and therefore observed and noted when farmers (or archaeologists) broke into the burial mound”. Bronze Age plundering would probably give the opposite result as it seems likely that they removed the larger and status objects and only left smaller objects (Randsborg 1998:116f). For more discussion about Bronze Age plundering see chapter 5.

In the region there are five graves that belong to Period IB⁴¹ and a possible sixth grave, but the find circumstances are not good enough to be certain. Only one of them has a plan. The male buried in grave G in mound 27 Hüsby, Hüsby parish (Ke2362G, see figure 65) had a spearhead placed next to him on his right side near the head, while in the waist area were a Rollennadel and a pendant made of slate, and in the knee region a high-flanged axe of Hüsby type. The placement of the pin indicates that it was used to hold some kind of bag together. Two graves with metal objects that can be designated to this phase are: Schuby, mound 34 graves H and K (Ke2408H&K). Of these two burials grave H is stratigraphically older. It contains a high-flanged axe of Hüsby type and a ceramic vessel, placed close to each other, but unfortunately there is no information on their position in relation to the body. Grave K, however, has information that the slate pendant was placed on the torso near the shoulder blade and that the Sögel dagger blade was in a leather sheath placed between the lower parts of the legs in the knee region (K.M. Archiv K.S. 6990-97). Textile fragments found in grave H, Schuby indicate, as it was found above the leather that covered the axe and in asso-

ciation with a leather belt, that the individual was wearing a kilt or a wrap-around as well as a cloak. There were three layers of textiles, all of which were probably tabbies and made of brown wool. Two of them were s/z-spun and one was s/s-spun tabby (Ehlers 1998:443). This indicates that they probably wore clothing resembling that found in the Danish oak log coffins. There are indications that the weapons (axe and dagger) were worn tied to the lower part of one of the legs or placed in a sock. This is suggested since it is documented that two of the graves have their weapons placed there, while in the third grave, Schuby grave H, the axe was found in a leather case and a leather belt. Even though we do not know the exact placement of the axe, the two other Sögel-Wohlde graves and the relation of the weapons to the layered textile fragments indicate that it had been placed along the lower part of the legs. Another mound that contains two Period IB graves was excavated by the same excavator as the Schuby mound (Wilhelm Splieth). It is mound 12 in Berend, parish Neuberend, where grave C and D both hold Period IB objects (Ke2385C&D). Grave C contains a small dagger blade that may have been placed on the hip and grave D contained three amber beads in association with the head and a dagger blade placed in relation to the belt (K.M. Archiv 121/1894).

There seems to be a fairly standard level of male wealth in the burials during the Sögel-Wohlde period in this region. There is some variation in the number of objects placed in the graves, but they seem to follow the same general pattern. All three axes are of the same type, the axe or the dagger is placed in a similar position, and two graves contain ceramic vessels. The main difference that one can detect is that the slate pendant is placed differently on the body; the man buried in Hüsby has it in the waist region and the male from Schuby had it on his torso. The daggers had been placed either on the legs or tied to the belt, and none had the more typical Middle Bronze Age placement on the shoulder. All determinable Period IB graves are male graves. The possible grave contains a high-flanged axe of Hüsby type, and therefore fits very well into the general picture; if it is the remains of a grave, it strengthens the idea of a ‘standard’ local appearance. There is a find of a belt hook that belongs to Period IB (Ke 2403) found in the region, but due to lack of information about its find circumstances it cannot be discussed in any detail. Belt hooks are uncommon in the Sögel-Wohlde burial tradition, but occur more frequently in the Valsømagle burial tradition (see chapter 3). This may then be the remains of a burial of a person from the Valsømagle region, or may be read as an indication of another form of contact between the areas.

There are six graves in the region that can be pos-

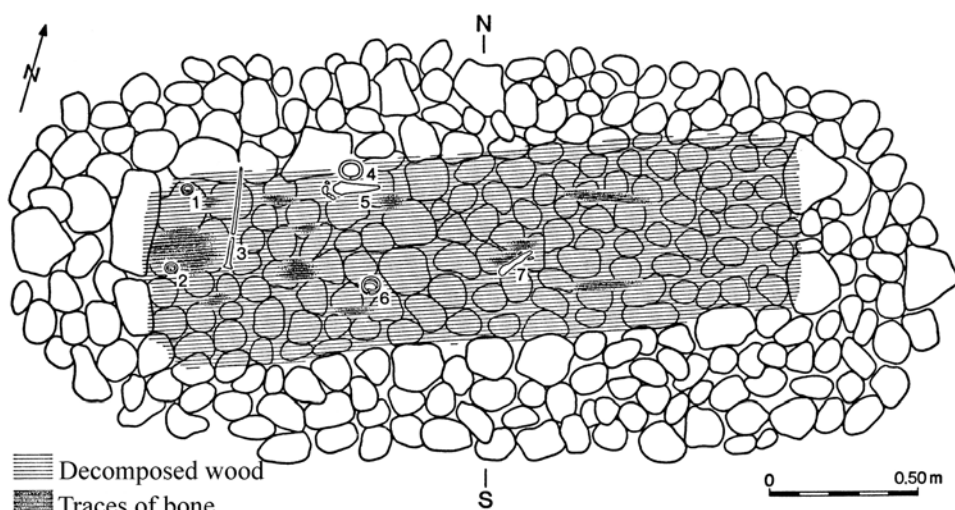
⁴¹ Willroth dates twelve of the graves to Period I, but in my view his determination is based on artefacts that cannot be dated so precisely, or on wrongly identified artefact types.

⁴² Willroth (1992:492f) counted 18 Period II graves. However, in this total he includes Period II artefacts that come from mixed assemblages, i.e. from one mound that included material from many periods. I have in general followed Aner and Kersten, as I find their conclusions more reliable.

itively dated to Period II.⁴² In addition, there are artefacts found in mounds without clear information that indicate another five graves, as well as mixed assemblages from two mounds that contain Period II objects. These possible graves are only touched upon in my analysis, but a general awareness of their existence is helpful. The graves with plans showing the position of the artefacts will be used as a starting point for my discussion.

The grave in mound 8 in Dannewerk (Ke2340, see figure 66) was disturbed in the centre, so some artefacts may be missing. Tweezers were placed on the left side of the head, and a flint dagger was also placed in association with the head region; a pin and two amber beads were found on the right side of the body in the vicinity of the waist (Kersten 1954:285f). The pin and possibly the beads are probably part of some kind of leather bag. Due to the disturbance of a part of the grave, it is hard to know if it once contained a bronze weapon. Two excavated Period II graves with plans comes from Schuby; grave B mound 38 (Ke 2410B, see figure 67) and the grave in mound 54 (Ke 2413, see figure 68). Remains of two bronze swords with bronze pommels are found in grave B mound 38. This is probably the remains of a man that was buried with one sword on his left shoulder and one placed along his right leg. No clothing related artefacts were found in the grave. The man buried in mound 54 in Schuby was given many bronze artefacts: a sword blade and a bronze pommel, a spearhead, two tutuli, a tweezers, a flint strike-a-light, and a pyrite. The plan indicates that the spear had been placed alongside the body leaving the spearhead placed above the head, and the sword was probably along the right leg. The pommel, however, seems to have been moved from its original position. Next to the sword were the two tutuli, and further down along the sword was the flint strike-a-light. There is no information about the placement of the tweezers and the pyrite (Ke2413). It seems likely that the tutuli had been part of a belt of some kind that had been used in relation to the sword, and it is also possible that the flint strike-a-light, the pyrite and the tweezers had been placed in a bag that used to hang from the belt. This, however, is just a hypothesis, as the exact find positions for the last two objects are no longer known.

There is another well excavated grave from Period II in Schuby (Ke2414E). Aner and Kersten did not publish the plan of it, but there is a written description of the placement of the objects. A dagger blade and a pommel were found in the middle



of the grave, indicating that it had been placed in the waist/hip area. The dagger had probably been placed on the left hip, as tweezers were found on the right side of the hip, and it had probably been hanging from the belt in a little bag of some kind. The last object found in the grave was an axe, which was found further down from the dagger blade, in-

Figure 69: Plan of grave A from mound 3, Dannewerk, Ke2338A (from Aner & Kersten 1978:104 figure 103). 1-2 gold spiral rings, 3 pin, 4 arm-ring, 5 dagger blade, 6 arm-ring, 7 dagger blade.

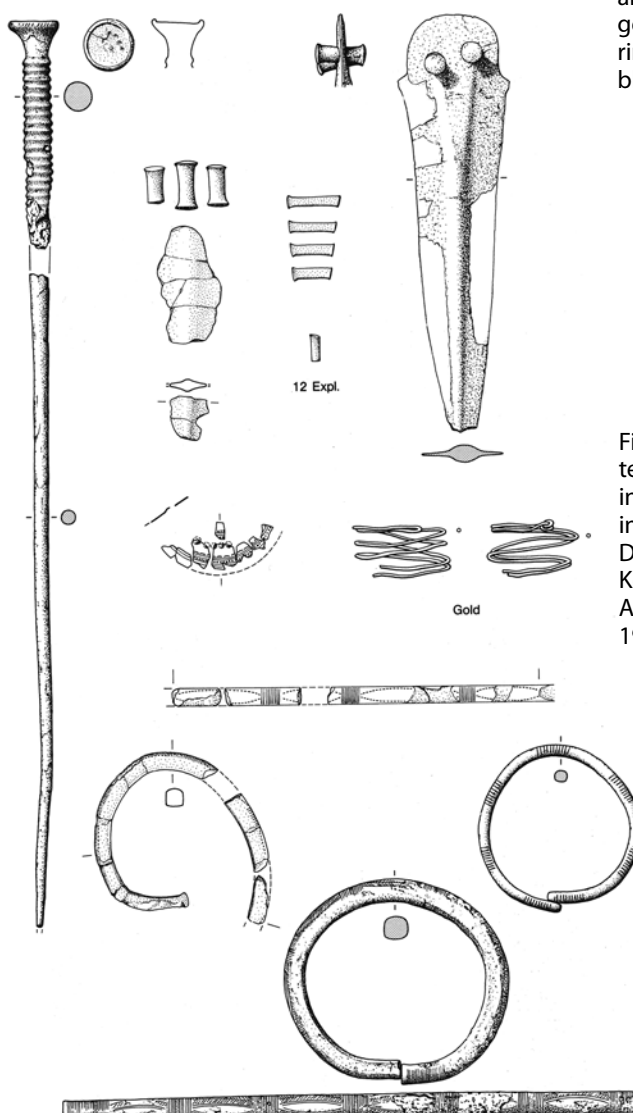
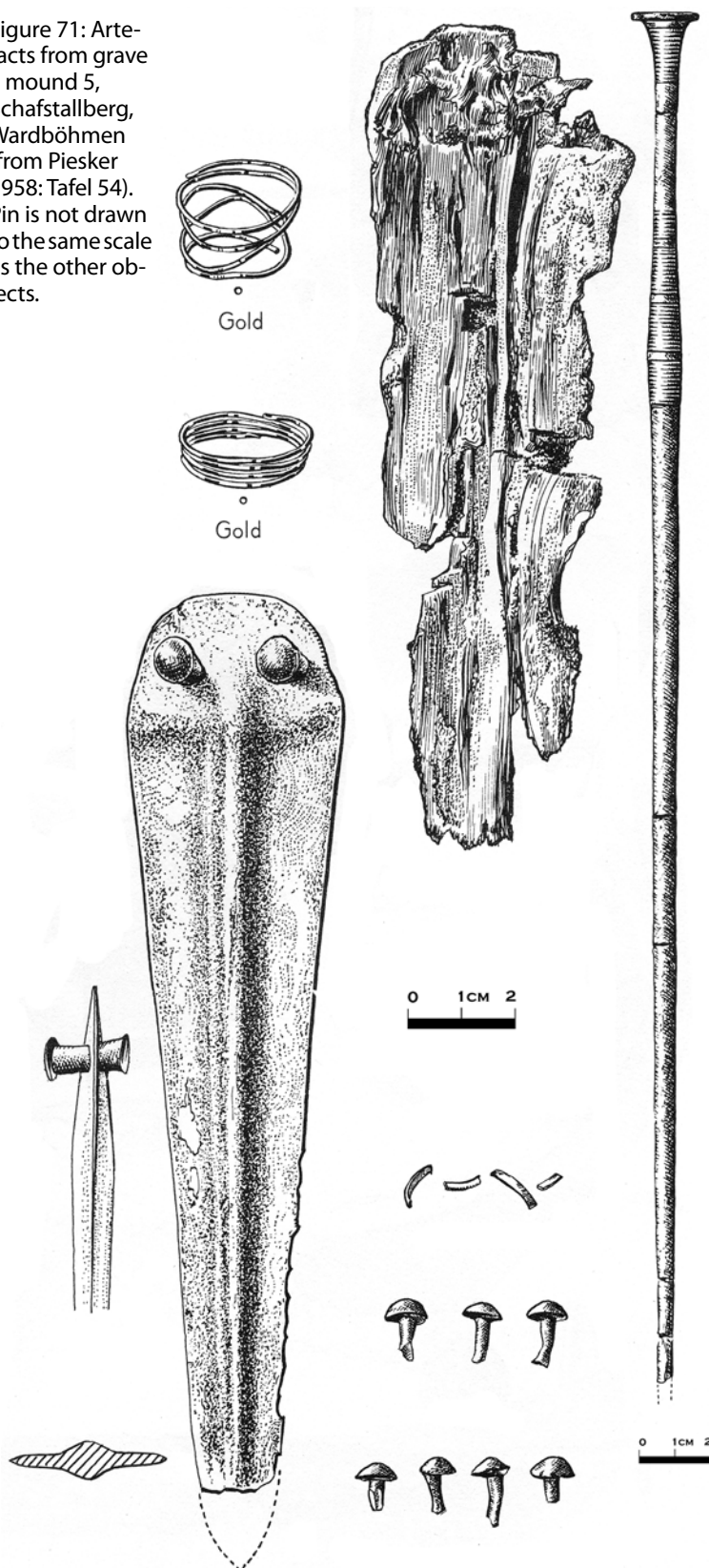


Figure 70: Artefacts found in grave A in mound 3, Dannewerk, Ke2338A (from Aner & Kersten 1978: Tafel 34).

Figure 71: Artefacts from grave II mound 5, Schafstallberg, Wardböhmen (from Piesker 1958: Tafel 54). Pin is not drawn to the same scale as the other objects.



dicating that it had been placed on the lower part of the legs. This seems to follow the tradition from Period IB, where the weapon was carried by being strapped to one of the legs, or possibly placed inside a sock.

A recently excavated mound in Hüsby contained two burials, one burial that contained two gold Lockenringe and one dagger; this grave cannot be

dated more closely than to the Middle Bronze Age. The other burial, however, contained rich burial finds dating to the early Period II (1500-1400 BC): a short sword, a spearhead, an axe, a tweezers, a razor, a flint strike-a-light, a belt hook, a fibula, a pin and a gold arm-ring or gold clothing decoration (Freudenberg 2007). This is a well equipped male burial that can be seen as following the PIB burial from Hüsby in part, but with the new emphasis on grooming added to it, i.e. the toilet equipment.

None of the possible Period II graves contain any clear evidence of female graves. No belt plates or neck collars exist that can be dated to Period II in the region. Three graves have only unisex objects preserved, an awl (Ke2349), a tutulus (mixed find from a mound) (Ke2404I) and a fibula, fragments of wool textiles and remains of a wooden box (Ke2361). All of the other probable Period II graves contain weapons. Many of them have more than one weapon in the grave, e.g. the mixed assemblage from Fahrddorf (Ke2348) contains one full-metal hilted sword, one sword blade, one axe and one chisel (Tüllenmeißel). It is obviously hard to determine if these objects come from one or more graves. From a mound in Moldnit, parish Schaalby, Period II objects were found: a flanged hilted sword, fragments of another sword/dagger and a spearhead (Ke2395). The last possible grave belonging to this phase is a sword blade found in a mound in Schaalby (Ke2395). One can conclude that four of the graves, possibly six if one includes the mixed assemblages, contain more than one weapon. Some of them even hold both a sword and a dagger or two swords, with no indication of it being a double burial. Most of the artefacts related to the body are placed on the mid and lower half of the body; this also goes for the smaller objects such as pins and amber beads. There is, then, a clear emphasis on the lower half of the body.

From Period III there are 17 possible graves⁴³ with bronze objects.

The female grave with a plan is a cremation grave from mound 35 (grave E) in Schuby (Ke2409E). The artefacts include two fibulae, one tutulus, one awl, two arm-rings, one arm- or ankle-ring, five spiral bronze tubes, five amber beads, one knife and one fragmented pendant. These items were placed in a small heap in the western end of the grave, and therefore this grave does not provide any detailed information of how the artefacts related to the body. The other female grave is also a cremation grave from Schuby (grave H, mound 55) (Ke2414H). The objects were placed together in the middle of the grave and comprised: one fibula, one neck ring, one tutulus and a knife. These graves indicate that the Period III women in the area wore different types of rings (neck-, arm-, and ankle-rings) and that they used fibulae, probably for closing some kind of cloak, and a tutulus was probably either sewn or

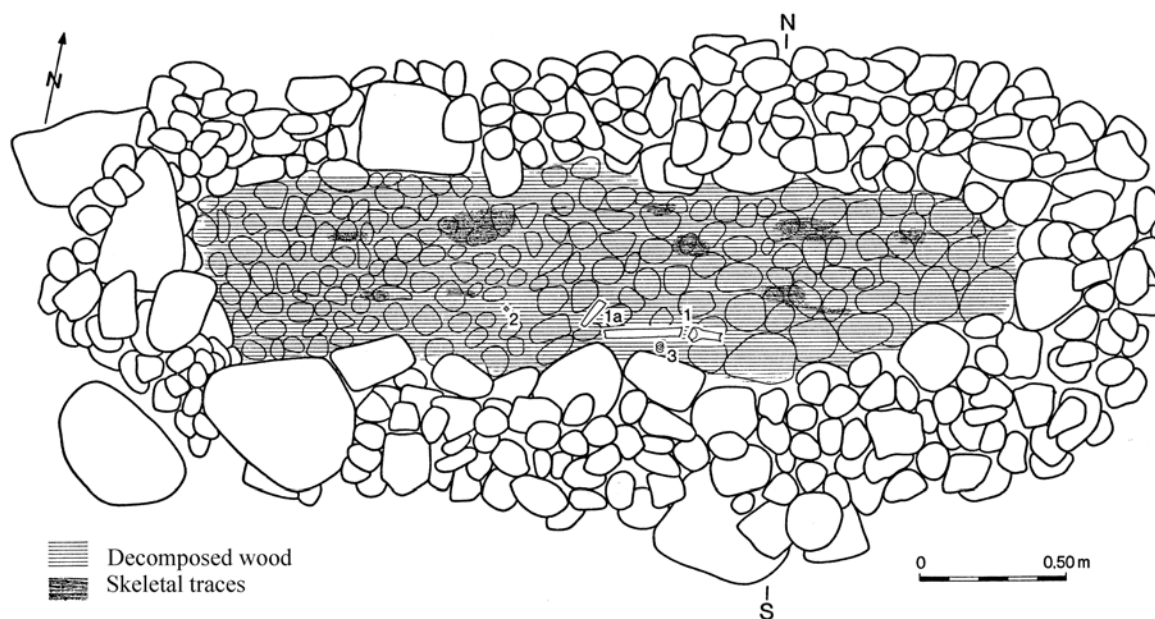


Figure 72: Plan of grave C in mound 38, Fahrendorf, Ke2347C (from Aner & Kersten 1978:118 figure 120).

drawn onto the belt or some other part of the clothing. Some of the artefacts appear to be a permanent part of a piece of clothing, such as glass and amber beads, and the tutulus were possibly sewn onto the dress. None of the objects can be said to hinder movements, although the clothing itself might have been constraining if it is at all similar to the pieces of clothing found in the well-preserved Danish oak-log coffins.

Grave A in mound 3 Dannewerk (Ke2338A, see figures 69, 70) has been interpreted as a Period II female grave by both Aner and Kersten (1978:102ff, Kersten 1954:280ff) and Willroth (1992:48, 492). In my view, however, this is actually the remains of a male from the Lüneburg Heath, and it should instead be dated to Period III. The grave shares many traits with some male graves from the Lüneburg Heath, such as grave I and II from mound 5 in Schaftallberg, Wardböhmen (see figure 71). One reason for the interpretation as a female grave is probably the Lockenspiralen, but it is not uncommon to have Lockenspiralen in male graves on the Lüneburg Heath (Laux 1971:39). All three mentioned graves contain two golden Lockenspiralen. Two of the graves contain one Nagel und Plattenkopfnadel as well as a small dagger with two rivets each (the grave in Dannewerk and grave II in Schaftallberg). It is not uncommon to find arm-rings in male graves in the Lüneburg Heath, e.g. grave I in Schaftallberg included one arm-ring. The main difference between the Dannewerk grave and the male Lüneburg Heath burial is that it contains two daggers. The remains of the second dagger in the Dannewerk grave are very fragmented, but there are indications of a thin round bronze sheet that had been used as a part of the handle, and this could indicate that this dagger blade belonged to a Scandinavian type of dagger. The pattern on one of the

arm-rings is similar to a common pattern on male arm-rings in the Lüneburg culture, which is seen by Laux as belonging to his 3rd phase, i.e. our Period III (Laux 1971:123). I would claim that this is the remains of a man who moved from the Lüneburg Heath to Schleswig area, wearing head gear including two golden Lockenspiralen, a pin to hold his cloak, on his left arm he wore one arm-ring, on his right arm he had two arm-rings, and in the waist region one dagger, and near his right knee another dagger. It is possible that the second dagger and its position on the lower leg represents an influence of the region he moved into, i.e. the area where he was buried (see below for discussion about the Lüneburg male appearance).

One Scandinavian male burial with a plan to assist in its interpretation is grave C in mound 38 at Fahrdorf (Ke2347C, see figure 72). This is the remains of an inhumation where the sword has been placed on the left shoulder following the left arm. At the end of the vanished sheath was a chape. A gold finger-ring indicates that one of the hands was resting on the sword. The last grave with a published plan is the grave from mound 64 in Altmühl, parish Selk (Ke2421). Assuming the head had been at the west end of the grave, a fibula had been placed on the torso of the deceased individual. The tweezers found in the grave seem to be situated outside the presumed area of the vanished coffin. In contrast to Period II, none of the graves contain more than one weapon, except perhaps the two chapes from the mound in Schaaby (Ke 2396), although this example might represent the remains from two graves rather than one. Two of the graves from Period III contain gold objects.

There are 49 graves without any traceable artefacts that can probably be dated to the Middle Bronze Age, although at least some of these are likely to be

⁴³ Willroth (1992:495f) has determined 18 Period III graves, and has with Ke2386 made Ke2396 into two graves. Based on the evidence of graves in which more than one dagger/sword are present, I do not think that one can separate the two chapes into two different graves. Ke2386 is a stray find without any find circumstances and therefore is not included in my study. I have, however, included Ke2338 from Dannewerk, which Willroth placed in Period II.

long to the Late Neolithic. In addition, there are 25 probable graves with artefacts that are dated generally to the Middle Bronze Age, and must be classed as 'probable' since the artefacts are now missing, or because the artefacts cross period boundaries, or because they are too fragmented to determine. Grave B in mound 4 Dannewerk (Ke2339B) holds a person who was buried with a flint dagger on each arm; the one on the left arm was placed slightly higher than the one on the right arm (Aner & Kersten 1978:107, Kersten 1954:283). Other graves with a weapon placed along one of the legs is grave J from mound 27 in Hüsby (flint dagger) (Ke 2362J, see figure 73), and the late Neolithic grave A mound 55 in Schuby (flint dagger) (Ke2414A, see figure 74). The first mentioned grave is from the same mound as the two Period IB graves from Hüsby. The deceased individuals here had two amber beads and an awl in relation to the right shoulder/arm. It is possible that the two amber beads found in the male graves in this region were used as terminal beads on a leather/textile strap of a pouch; another example of this in this area is Ke2340. Grave D from mound 35 in Schuby has a ceramic vessel placed next to the head and a pin placed on the chest. The only grave with a possible belt plate is grave A from mound 41 in Schuby (Ke2412A, see figure 75). In the burial there was also a flint blade, but unfortunately the position of the artefacts in the grave were not recorded. However, the flint dagger in grave B (Ke2412B) in the same mound was placed in relation to the upper torso, and there was also an arm-ring that might be related to burial B, but this is unclear. Skeleton B might have had its head placed below the feet.

The region has very few female graves that can be designated to the Middle Bronze Age, and it is only with Period III that we have any safely dated female burials. Only one grave includes a belt plate. The belt plate ought to have been more commonly used, however, as there are three belt plates in a Period II hoard from Schleswig (Ke2402). During the Late Neolithic, Period I and II axes and daggers seem to have been tied to one of the legs, but this tradition appears to have been abandoned in Period III, when a more 'standard' south Scandinavian placement of daggers and swords on the left shoulder was adopted. The area has a larger amount of weaponry in the graves than the other studied regions during Period IB and Period II. Gold objects are present in few graves from both Period II and III. Three graves are interpreted as children's graves, one a cremation grave (Ke2346E) and, due to the size of the inner room of the stone coffin, two burials are thought to be the remains of children (Ke2347B & 2364B); none of these holds any objects. There are graves without any preserved grave goods, graves with small objects (such as

amber beads, awls or tweezers), and graves with a few small artefacts (pins, fibulae, tweezers, and or razors) to wealthy graves with spearheads, axes, daggers and swords as well as smaller objects. Different levels of the society seem therefore to be represented in the burials, with only a few visible women and children and a much larger number of males. This demonstrates that it is unlikely that the complete society in this region was buried in a way that we can detect. There seems to be a focus on male warriors during Period I and II, but this focus changed during Period III, when there was less emphasis on weaponry and more on appearance-changing artefacts, such as tweezers and razors. The focus seems to have gone from real warriors who needed to prove themselves through the presence of large weapons and equipment, to more "show warriors", where physical appearance became more important.

Willroth (1989:90ff) claims that in Kersten's zone II (Schleswig, Holstein, southernmost Jutland, Ribe and Vejle County) the most important male weapon during Period II is the sword/dagger. That can be seen in my analysis as well, even though the axe and the spearhead are also important. He also argues that spearheads are common in graves in the western part of Holstein, whereas they are less common in other regions during Period II. Despite this, three out of nine male graves in the region have a spearhead included amongst their grave equipment, as well as one Period IB grave (Ke 2362G Hüsby).

Case study : Lüneburg Culture

The person who has worked most in recent times with the material from the Lüneburg Heath is Friedrich Laux (for example 1971, 1976, 2000). Laux has divided the area into different geographical areas. For the males these are: the Ilmenau-Tal and the North and South Heath; for the women, it is the South Heath, the North Heath and the lower Ilmenau valley, and the upper Ilmenau valley. Bergmann (1970) in his book "Die Ältere Bronzezeit Nordwestdeutschland" put forward a different geographical division from Laux. He studies a larger regional area than just the Lüneburg Heath and divides his studied area into six regions: North Hannover, The Ilmenau area, the south Heath, Middle and south Hannover, Weser and Ems area, and Westphalia (the last two are for some periods combined into one region).

Here the material from Bleckmar and Wardböhmen, county Celle, which among other mounds in the region was excavated by Hans Piesker between 1936 and 1944, will be discussed (Piesker 1958:7f, see appendix 5). These mounds belong to the South Heath region according to both Laux and Bergmann.

There is no available drawing of any of the male

graves from either Bleckmar or Wardböhmen, and only a few have descriptions of the placement of artefacts in the graves. Often the publications just record that it was found on the body, or it may reveal on which arm a ring had been placed (Piesker 1958 catalogue). My reconstruction of the male appearance is therefore largely reconstructed, informed by the artefact type found in the graves plus information about their general placement in mounds excavated in other areas on the Lüneburg Heath. Only a few of the female graves have published plans (Piesker 1958) even though some more have written information about the position of objects in the grave. Some of the well described female graves, or graves with a drawing, will be presented in order to discuss the female appearance. The remaining graves will be used for a more general discussion.

A grave from Bockel, Soltau mound 18, excavated by Piesker in 1936, is a male Period IB burial with a published plan. According to the plan the dagger had been placed in the waist region, an axe on the right side of the body, and a ring and six arrowheads had been positioned above the head on the left side. (Piesker 1937:135ff). Sprockhoff has excavated a number of mounds in Vorwohldede, Sulzingen, Diepholz, including two Period IB male graves that are published with plans. The grave from mound A had a pin placed on the chest and in the waist region; a flint-strike-a-light, a pyrite, and eight flint arrowheads were found. On the left side of the body in the hip area a spearhead and a probable bronze arrowhead were placed. The central grave in mound B held the remains of a deceased man who had been buried with his dagger placed at the waist/hip, and close to the hip was a stone strike-a-light. By the head there was an axe and a flint arrowhead. Another arrowhead was found in the vicinity of the knee, and it is possible that this was not intended as a part of the burial equipment; Sprockhoff says it may come from a destroyed burial (Sprockhoff 1930:195ff), or one could argue that it was the cause of death. These graves might indicate the position of the objects in later burials as well.

Grave A from mound 1, Betheln, Hildesheim County, south of Hannover, holds the remains of a Middle Bronze Age man. Here the dagger was placed at the level of the left lower arm, but due to the lack of information it is hard to give a more exact position, and an axe had been placed at the same level but on the right side of the body (Cossack & Köning 1004:52-53).

These four examples show that even though we are moving within reasonably close distances the placement of the objects and the emphasis and relation to different body parts varies. Due to the lack of published information about the position of ar-

tefacts in the graves from Bleckmar and Wardböhmen we cannot be certain of their position on the body. However, the grave from Bockel can probably be seen as the most likely prototype for the graves studied here; this however, will have to be demonstrated when Laux's forthcoming work on this material is published.

None of the graves can be dated to Period IB, and the first appearance of graves with metal objects belongs to both Laux's male and female phase I, i.e. Montelius Period II.

Laux (1971: tab 9) has determined five⁴⁴ of the male graves from this region to his phase I (early Period II). The common thing between all the graves is that they contain flint arrowheads. In addition, all but one has a dagger, four of them have pins or a fibula pin, one has an axe and two wore an arm-ring, and only one has a ceramic vessel. The general picture shows a number of males for whom the most important equipment was the bow and arrow, followed by either a dagger and a dagger and an axe as added weaponry. The pins seem to be a common artefact used in the clothing, probably for holding a cloak together. Two of the men wore jewellery in the form of an arm-ring (see figure 40).

Laux places nine male graves⁴⁵ in the following phase (Laux 1971: tab 9). Now the picture has changed slightly from the preceding phase, and the dagger has become the most important weapon as seen by its presence in seven out of nine graves; next in terms of importance was the axe. Indications of bows and arrows only exist in the presence of flint arrowheads in two graves. They follow the early Period II tradition, including a pin and some bronze rings. In the latter half of Period II four out of the nine men were buried with a dagger and an axe, three of them wore a pin, probably placed on the chest, as indicated by the man from the Lüneburg Heath buried in Dannewirke (see above). The fourth grave was disturbed, so possibly a pin had disappeared from the grave. In five of the graves there is some kind of ring: arm-, finger-, and/or some other small ring. In three of the graves there is also a single ceramic vessel.

Laux (1971: tab 9) classified fifteen graves⁴⁶ into his third male phase. Now the bow and arrow is the most important weapon again, there are no axes found in the graves, and only seven daggers are known. Only four burials contain two different types of weapons, i.e. arrows and daggers. The artefacts that are more closely related to the body are pins, fibulae and rings of various kinds. All graves have either a pin or a fibula, so one may assume that these had the same function, and inferring from the Dannewirke grave they probably served to hold the cloak on. Eight graves contain arm-rings, two also had an ankle-ring and one a finger-ring. Gold objects were found in three graves, two

⁴⁴ Kahlberg, Bleckmar mound 6; Wittenberg, Bleckmar mound 9 grave II; Hengstberg, Wardböhmen mound 4 grave II; Schaftallberg, Wardböhmen mound 3 grave I; and Schaftallberg mound 16 grave II.

⁴⁵ Kahlberg mound 3 grave II, Kahlberg mound 5 grave III; Wittenberg mound 4 grave II; Wittenberg mound 4 grave IV; Wittenberg mound 9 grave II; Wittenberg mound 12 grave II; Schaftallberg mound 12; Schaftallberg mound 18 and Worsloh, Wardböhmen mound 4 grave II.

⁴⁶ Am Wittenberg, Bleckmar mound 2; Kahlberg mound 5 grave II and IV; Wittenberg mound 4 grave I and IIIb; Hengstberg mound 5, grave I; Schaftallberg mound 5 grave I and II; Schaftallberg mound 8 grave II; Schaftallberg mound 9, Schaftallberg mound 13 grave III and IV; Worsloh mound 2 grave I and III; and Worsloh mound 4 grave V.

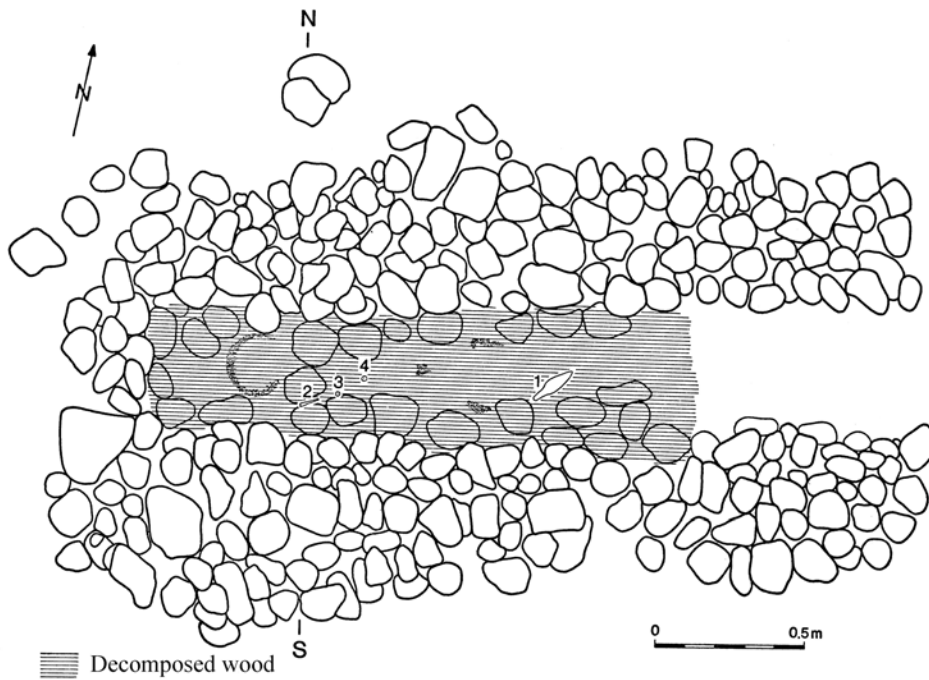


Figure 73: Plan of grave J mound 27, Hüsby, Ke2362J (from Aner & Kersten 1978:132 figure 135).

with two golden Lockenringen and one had just one. The presence of the Lockenringen indicates some kind of textile head gear onto which they were sewn. These are the only male graves with Lockenringen in Bleckmar and Wardböhmen, although the gold spiral in grave II from mound 4 in Wittenberg might have been used as a Lockenring. In other cases there are indications of gold Lockenringen although they are not excavated and/or published in a way that we can be as certain of as for other male graves from the Lüneburg Heath, for example in Ehlebeck, county Lüneburg and Hagen, county Celle (Laux 1971:175, 214). Another nine excavated male graves, are not dated more specifically than to the Middle Bronze Age. Nevertheless, they seem to fit rather well with the more specifically dated graves, many of them having a pin or a fibula and one or two weapons.

None of the graves belonging to Period II or III include body-changing artefacts such as tweezers or razors; and, only one contains fire-lighting equipment. The tradition seems fairly stable, with only small variations, although the standard changes between the periods. Laux has argued that an axe and a dagger is the most common weapon combination in the Lüneburg Heath, followed by the dagger and arrowhead (Laux 1996b:122). This seems not to be the case in my area of study. The bow and arrow is the preferred weapon, except for during a short period during the latter half of Period II. If Laux's chronology is slightly wrong and his phase I and II can be seen as just one period, then the two different weapon combinations have an equal presence. Over time the bow and arrow seem to be the most important weapon even if there is some fluctuation. The presence of some kind of cloak is indi-

cated by the fact that so many burials have a pin or fibula, and many of the men also used adornments such as rings.

Only three graves⁴⁷ are designated by Laux to his first female phase (Laux 1971: Tab 11). The grave from Hengstberg has artefacts that can be related to the special Lüneburg head gear (see figure 45), otherwise the graves include wheel-headed pins and one to three arm-rings. Two of them are inhumation graves and one is a cremation grave.

Laux has placed eight burials in his phase IIa⁴⁸ (Laux 1971: tab 11). The grave in Wittenberg mound 15 contained a woman buried in an elaborate head piece with 16 studs and 48 bronze tubes, as well as 4 smaller bronze rings attached to it. She also had a necklace made out of a bronze

spiral, one amber bead and two jet beads, and on each forearm was an arm-ring and on one of the ankles an ankle-ring. In addition to this a ceramic vessel had been placed somewhere in the grave (Piesker 1958:27). This is the remains of a woman wearing the special Lüneburg head gear, a necklace and rings on both her forearms and on one of the ankles. Grave I in mound 4 in Hengstberg contains the remains of a wealthy female grave. It has a few bronze tubes on the head gear, and most extraordinarily, the likely remains of a cloak upon which c. 150 studs had been placed on both the back and front. Under the cloak on a likely blouse, probably on each shoulder, was a button as well as two spirals on the left shoulder. On each forearm the deceased woman had worn two spiral arm-rings and she probably had a round disc on her belt. Thin bronze fragments were found in relation to the feet, and had possibly been sewn on the skirt (Piesker 1958:31). If one follows Renfrew's criteria for assessing the value of objects we can see that this woman displays wealth both in terms of the prime value, i.e. the considerable amount of bronze, and in labour value, i.e. both in making the bronze studs and sewing them on the clothing, which must have taken a considerable time. The use value is harder to determine when it comes to jewellery. It may have had a tremendously great use value in terms of signalling status.

A grave with detailed information about the placement of the studs, bronze tubes and spirals is grave I in mound 1 in Schafstallberg (see figure 42, 76). Bronze tubes, bronze spirals and bronze studs are combined into a pattern in similar ways on both sides of the head, and it is assumed to have created a 'winged' head piece (Piesker 1958:32, Laux

1996a:95ff). A string of bronze spirals seems to have been sewn on to the head gear and this hung down on the chest, or could possibly have been used as a necklace. A neck-ring with spiral ends was placed around the neck and on each forearm there was a spiral arm-ring. Five of the eight female burials from this phase have indications of head gear that included bronze, and there might be two different types of headdress: the 'winged bonnet' and another one where a bronze 'diadem' (German: Stirnband) was sewn on the headdress (Worbsloh grave I mound 7). Two of the graves seem to have had cloaks that were decorated with sewn on bronzes (grave I in mound 1 in Schafstallberg; Worbsloh grave I mound 7). The emphasis on the body was on the head, torso and arms. In six of the graves arm-ring/s were used and in five burials ankle-ring/s were worn. There are small objects such as buttons and hooks found in the graves, and these seem to have been placed on the torso, and might possibly have been used for holding the bronze-loaded cloaks in place. Only two burials had neck-rings or neck collars, while the typical wheel-headed pin, or for that matter any pin, only occurred in two burials.

Laux has determined ten of the graves as belonging to his phase IIb⁴⁹ (Laux 1971: tab 11). Four of these graves have plans published by Piesker (1958: tafel 65 & 66), and these form the basis for the discussion here. The female burial in Wittenberg mound 4 grave V has a round bronze disc placed at the top of the head; it was probably sewn on to the headdress along with two spirals, and at the neck a neck-ring had been worn. Here 80 to 100 studs had been sewn onto the cloak, so that they were visible at the front and shoulders. Under the cloak there were six bronze discs laid out across the torso. A wheel-headed pin had been placed there as well, probably to hold the cloak together. On both upper arms there was an arm-ring, as well as one on each forearm, and on the right hand three finger-rings were worn: one on the ring-finger; one on the middle finger; and one on the little finger. On the right ankle two ankle-rings were also found (Piesker 1958:27). The deceased woman at Schafstallberg grave II mound 1 also had a bronze disc placed at her head, positioned in relation to a 'diadem', and two probable earrings were found at each ear. One neck collar had been placed at the neck, and the woman had worn an elaborate cloak covered with 120 to 150 studs which were sewn all over the cloak, covering both back, sides and the front. Among them was a wheel-headed pin, indicating that it was used to hold the cloak together. A bronze disc, a button and some studs were found in a position suggesting that they had adorned a belt. Under the cloak four bronze discs were found across the chest. On both forearms she had worn a spiral arm-ring and

on the left forearm she also wore another arm-ring. On both ankles she also had two ankle-rings and near both legs a bronze spiral was found. It is possible that the spiral had been sewn to the skirt, just like the thin bronze sheet in grave I mound 4 from Hengstberg (Piesker 1958:32).

The two graves from Hengstberg mound 5 also have published plans (see figure 77). Grave II contained the remains of a woman who had worn a headdress including a possible pin/fibula. The neck region was heavily ornamented, with both a necklace made of bronze spirals and a round bronze disc as well as another necklace put together with bronze spirals and six bronze pendants. A disc-headed pin was found near the neck, and it had probably been used to hold a cloak together. On each forearm a spiral arm-ring had been worn, and on both hands were two finger-rings. On both ankles an ankle-ring had been placed. The second burial from the mound that is going to be discussed here is grave V. It partly resembles grave II. The headdress had been ornamented with studs and rings, seemingly in similar ways on both sides of the head. Here also the neck region is heavily emphasised with a neck collar and a necklace made of bronze spirals and a bronze disc, and a disc-headed pin held the probable cloak together. The woman had worn a finger-ring on the left hand, and on each forearm a spiral arm-ring. Two ankle-rings had also been placed on both lower legs (Piesker 1958:31).

Out of the ten graves dating to this phase, nine have bronze rings associated with the head. However, the heavily ornate head gear seen in phase IIa is no longer present, and instead the focus has shifted downwards, from the head to the neck region, as seen by the presence of five graves with neck collars, neck-rings or necklaces made out of bronze spirals, bronze discs or pendants. Graves such as grave III in mound 9 in Wittenberg and grave II in mound I in Schafstallberg have a strong emphasis on the torso. All graves contain arm-, finger-, and/or ankle-rings. As eight of the ten graves contain ankle-rings one can clearly say that the emphasis on the legs has increased from the period before. One of the graves contains objects made of gold.

From Laux phase III there are seven graves⁵⁰ (Laux 1971: tab 11). Grave I from mound 3 in Kahlberg includes a heavily ornamented headdress that included: a minimum of 200 studs, bronze tubes and spirals, bronze rings, and a Haarknotenfibula (see figure 78). At the neck the woman wore a neck collar and wheel-headed pin, on each forearm a spiral arm-ring and on one of the legs an ankle-ring (Piesker 1958:25). Grave IIIa from mound 4 in Wittenberg looks slightly different, with a 'diadem' and the bronze rings associated with the headdress and bronze spirals, and seven pendants creating a necklace. A pin was placed on the chest and on the

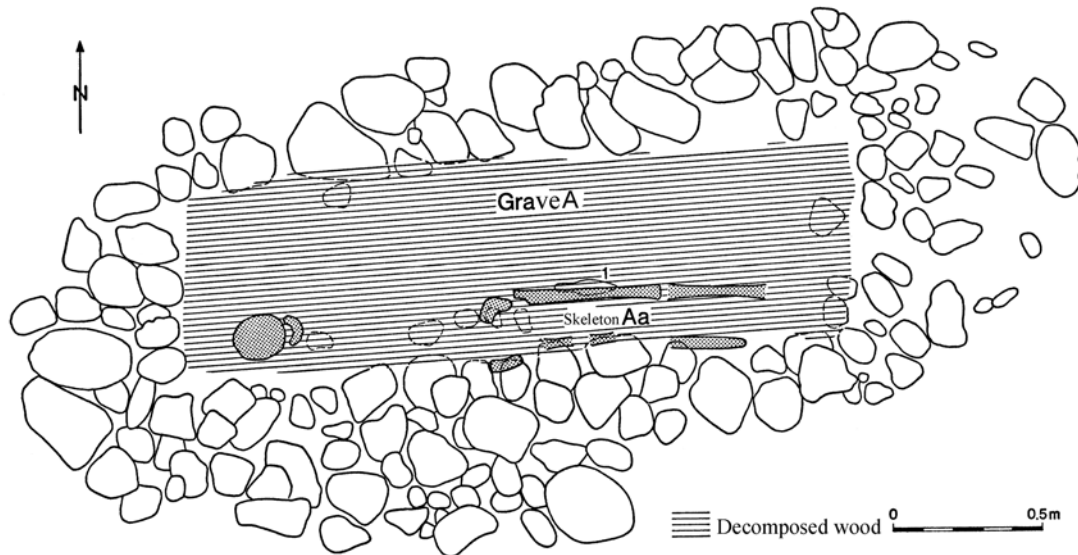
⁴⁷ Wittenberg mound 8A; Hengstberg mound 7 grave I; and Schafstallberg mound 16 I.

⁴⁸ Wittenberg mound 15; Hengstberg mound 4 grave I; Hengstberg mound 10 grave I and II; Schafstallberg mound 1 grave I; schafstallberg mound 8 grave I; worbsloh mound 4 grave IV; and Worbsloh mound 7 grave I.

⁴⁹ Wittenberg mound 4 grave V, mound 9 grave III, mound 11, grave I, and mound 12 grave III; Hengstberg mound 5 grave II and V; Schafstallberg mound 1 grave II, and mound 13 grave I and II; and Worbsloh mound 4 grave I.

⁵⁰ Kahlberg mound 3 grave I; Wittenberg mound 4 grave IIa, mound 8 grave II, mound 9 grave IV; Schafstallberg mound 10 and 19; and Worbsloh mound 5.

Figure 74:
Plan of grave A
mound 55, Schu-
by, Ke2414A
(from An-
er & Kersten
1978:157 figure
161).



right forearm was one arm-ring and on the left two arm-rings. Lastly, an ankle-ring had been worn on one leg (Piesker 1958:26).

The main new addition to the appearance of women from this area is the fibula, which becomes more common; a fibula was found in five out of the seven graves. The fibula seems to have been used as a part of the head gear/hairdo rather than holding different pieces of clothing together (Laux 1971:32f). In all graves but one arm- or ankle-rings were used. Generally there seem to be less richly ornamented female graves from this phase. The grave from Kahlberg rather relates to the phase IIa female appearances, with its focus on the head and a heavily elaborated headdress, whereas grave IIIa in mound 4 in Wittenberg relates more closely to the IIb female costume, with an emphasis on the torso and the similar headdress.

There are another seven female graves dating to the Middle Bronze Age. They generally contain few objects made of bronze, and seem either to have had an ornate headdress, and/or arm-/ankle-rings, and/or pins.

The female graves in the area under investigation seem to peak during later Period II, and Laux's separation into an early and a later phase II (i.e. the later part of Period II) might be due to differences in two different female categories, one in which the emphasis was on the head and another where the emphasis was on the neck region and torso. Many of the objects used are of the same or very similar type, therefore one must conclude that this is due to variations in one prevailing female gender rather than totally different gender categories. Maybe these differences can be attributed to inherited status and/or roles, or maybe they are due to different positions taken in society and/or family. Laux categorised this as belonging to the costume tradition (German: *Schmuck tracht*) of Wardböhmen-Kolkhagen. A number of artefacts belong to this,

but he points out that the wheel-headed pin are rare (Laux1996a:101). Laux tends to divide his different regions based on stylistic differences between certain artefact categories, as seen for example in the division of the Haarknotenfibula into the west and the east type (for example Laux 1971, 1996a). Even though such detailed artefact studies can give important information it can hide overruling social structures when one works on a higher social level. Therefore Laux's many studies on female costume (for example Laux 1971, 1984, 1996a) in the Lüneburg culture are difficult to compare with my study as the small details seem to blur the general picture. Only a limited number of graves can be said to belong to the early Period II, and this goes for the male graves as well. The studied societies in County Celle seem to peak in terms of the presence of bronze both for the male and female graves during the second half of Period II, after which the female visibility declines while the male presence, at least in terms of number of graves and gold objects, keeps increasing during Period III. The visibility of the people seen through the graves and metal objects in this area is most evident in the latter half of Period II. The region as a whole has chosen to bury the deceased individuals only with their weapons, jewellery, and clothing-related objects, and no other objects were found in the graves. There is a possibility that either a corded-skirt, or shorter skirts than the south Scandinavian skirt, were used here. This is indicated by the presence of many graves with ankle-rings. Comparing the male and female wealth in bronze objects, regarding both labour value and prime value, it seems like the women were buried with more expensive outfits than the men. However, one might argue that the artefacts in the male graves had more use value. Gold, however, was present in more male graves than female graves, although on the whole it is very rare. The 35 graves that cannot be gendered are either 'empty'

graves (16 graves) or just contain a few objects such as: some Lockenringen, an arm-ring, a pin, and/or a ceramic vessel. There is great diversity in what a grave might contain and, from 'empty' graves to graves loaded with bronze, and this indicates that the society might be stratified; a fair number of the individuals were buried.

Local or shared dress

In the section below the male graves and then the female burials from the area of investigation will be compared in order to draw conclusions about the similarity and differences in the dress between the different areas. For the discussion about the male burials different categories of objects (jewellery, toilet equipment, clothing-related artefacts, fire-lighting equipment and weaponry) are emphasised, as they can be related to different masculine ideals. For the female burials the numbers of both graves and objects are an important part of the analysis as these can indicate the status of the females in the different regions. Which types of objects and how they are combined are also studied, as it helps us understand whether the different areas connect fully or partly to the same feminine ideal.

Male

The male burials contain artefacts that can be related to different categories: jewellery, toilet equipment, clothing-related artefacts, fire-lighting equipment and weaponry. These categories will be the base for the comparison of the four different case studies. These categories are important because they give us information about how different ideals of masculinity are shown together in the different regions. They reveal whether the different regions emphasise similar or different masculine ideals, and which different European areas they identified with.

Pins vary in use and function across the studied areas. On the Lüneburg Heath they seem mainly to have been used as dress accessories, keeping the cloak together, whereas the pins in south Scandinavia seem to have been used to hold a bag or pouch together. There are no finds of pins in my Funen case study, but in the Schleswig and Copenhagen areas, the pins seem generally to have been used for holding a bag or a pouch together as shown above. Even though we do not have any certain information about the placement of the pins in the Lüneburg graves, the lack of small objects that could have been placed in a pouch or a bag indicates that there was no use for such a pin. This taken in combination with the placement of the pin in the Lüneburg male burial in Dannewirke increases the probability that the pins on the Lüneburg Heath were used as in Dannewerk (Ke2338A). Here we can see that

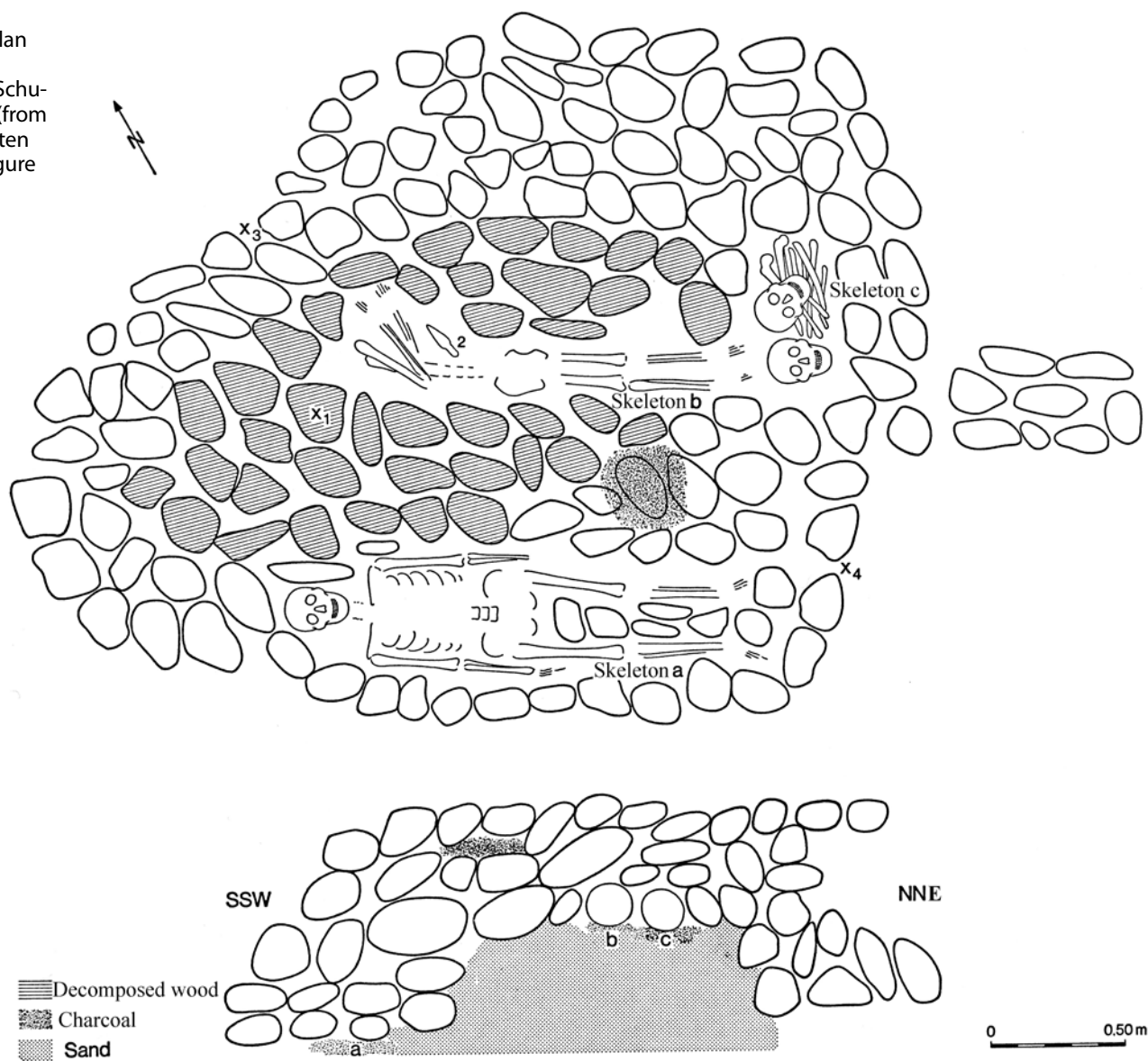
fairly similar objects are used differently in different areas, e.g. an individual on the Lüneburg Heath used a pin to hold the cloak together, while a fibula was used in Scandinavia for the same purpose. Unfortunately, none of the graves in my case studies provide clear examples of this due to the lack of plans from excavations, but this can be seen, for example, in the graves: Jestrup, Sønderhå parish, Hassing district, Thisted County (Ke5027); and Utersum, Föhr County, Schleswig-Holstein (K22653B).

Rings of various shapes and sizes are objects that can be regarded as 'just jewellery', without any practical functions except for signalling different social messages. In the Lüneburg Heath arm-rings are common during Periods II and III, whereas in the cases studies from the south Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age they are uncommon during Period II, but increase in popularity during Period III, sometimes even appearing in the form of a gold arm-ring in male burials.

In all of the south Scandinavian case studies from the Middle Bronze Age there is so-called toilet equipment, i.e. tweezers and razors. The presence of such objects increases from Period II to Period III. There seems therefore to be an increasing importance of grooming and body-changing practices over time, for example toilet equipment was entirely absent from the Period IB graves from the Schleswig area, while in Period II tweezers are present in two burials and in Period III both razor and tweezers are found in one grave and just one or the other in three burials. However, in the Lüneburg Heath case study there was no toilet equipment present anywhere. There seems to be an increasing importance in maintaining and adorning the male body through the Middle Bronze Age. The ways the male chose to do this, however, seems to vary between south Scandinavia and the Lüneburg Heath. Both cultures, however, strengthened their emphasis on the adorned male body, either by adding more types of jewellery or by using body-changing objects such as razors.

Fire-lighting equipment seems to be an important part of the south Scandinavian male identity, and many graves contain flint strike-a-lights and pyrites (many more probably had pyrites, but they have not survived). A stone strike-a-light was found in only one of all the 36 male graves in my case study from Celle county. Why this great difference in male identity exists is hard to say. The all-important pouch that in Scandinavian contexts could contain many things, such as a flint strike-a-light, awls and toilet equipment, seems to be totally missing. Does this difference have a connection to different views of movement and travel? If one is essentially itinerant or ready to travel it might be handy to carry objects that help in every-day life, for example, enabling one to light a fire and to shave?

Figure 75: Plan of burials in mound 41, Schuby, Ke2412 (from Aner & Kersten 1978:153 figure 158).



Another big difference between the two main regions is the weapons they chose to emphasise. In the Lüneburg Heath the bow and arrow seems to be the most important weapon. Axes and daggers are less common, and swords are totally missing. The daggers are generally fairly small. In Wardböhmen and Bleckmar there are 23 dagger blades, most of them are fairly short. Only two are longer than 20 cm, and four dagger blades are particularly short (10 cm long or less). The swords and daggers in Scandinavia are generally longer than 10 cm.

In the south Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age the picture varies between the different regions. In

the Funen case study only daggers and swords are found in the burials, and no other weaponry was found. However in both the Copenhagen and Schleswig areas during Periods IB and II many graves contain more than one weapon. They combine dagger, sword, axes, and spearheads. The ways the objects are related to the body in the graves are very different during these times. In the Copenhagen area all the weaponry is related to the waist and upper body. The sword/dagger is generally placed on the shoulder, safely resting on the arm. Whereas the other weapon is placed next to the body, often with the spearhead or axe is placed on the left side of the head. In Schleswig the focus is placed on the lower part of the body, and the weapons are often found in relation to the waist and legs. It seems like some of the daggers and axes were tied to the leg in one way or another. In Period III, however, the treatment and presence of weaponry becomes much more similar in the different south Scandinavian areas. Now even the male burial in the Schleswig area has the sword placed at the shoulder.

Blade lenght	Number of
>10	4
10. 1-20	14
>20	2
Undeterminable	3
Totally	23

Tabel 4.2. Dagger blade length of the daggers found in Wardböhmen and Bleckmar. Source: the catalogue in Laux 1971.

Generally the focus in the male graves in period III goes from weaponry to jewellery and/or body-changing artefacts. It is also more common to have been buried with both a sword and a dagger. The relationship between the male identity, weaponry and warfare will be further discussed in chapter 5.

One can say the men in the Lüneburg Heath are more closely related to the south German Lo-chham phase male ideal of male standard equipment, i.e. wearing a dagger, an axe and a pin (Wels-Weyrauch et al. 1986). This is true, even though for most of the time they emphasise the bow and arrow, and one can see an older Central European male ideal living on longer on the Lüneburg Heath than in many other European regions; in contrast, the south Scandinavian male ideal changes earlier to the new European male ideal.

Even though the clothing seems to be of a general male North European design, as the wrap-around from Emmer-Erfscheidenveen indicates, there are differences in the male head cap. The cap found in Emmer-Erfscheidenveen (Comis 2003:193ff) differed a lot from the ones found in the Nordic Bronze Age mounds. The cap is made out of sheepskin (Comis 2003:194) in contrast to the ones found in the Danish oak-logs, which are made out of wool. The presence of Lockenringen in male graves on the Lüneburg Heath indicates that they also had a different cap than the south Scandinavian examples. Maybe the difference in the caps, when the other pieces of clothing were so similar, was a way in which clear distinctions in appearance could be created between the different cultural areas. There seems to be two different kinds of headwear in south Scandinavia, as seen in the Trindhøj burial, however in this case there seems not to be a cultural/ethnic difference in the use of woollen cap. Perhaps the important thing was the material one chose to make it in and the way in which it was adorned.

Female

There are many clear differences in the female burials. Within the old Valsømagle area the female costume seems to be fairly uniform. A belt plate, neck collar, arm-rings and a dagger seem to all be part of a common tradition used and combined in similar ways. Both on Funen and the case study of the area near Copenhagen the women are more visible during Period II, both in regard to the total number of graves and the number of bronze objects found in the graves. One big difference, however, is the head gear. In Funen the placement of the fibula indicates that these have a different style headdress from the ones known from the Danish oak-log coffins. The only artefact within the area near Copenhagen that can be related to the head and the hairdo is the bronze comb found in Buddinge, and this indicates

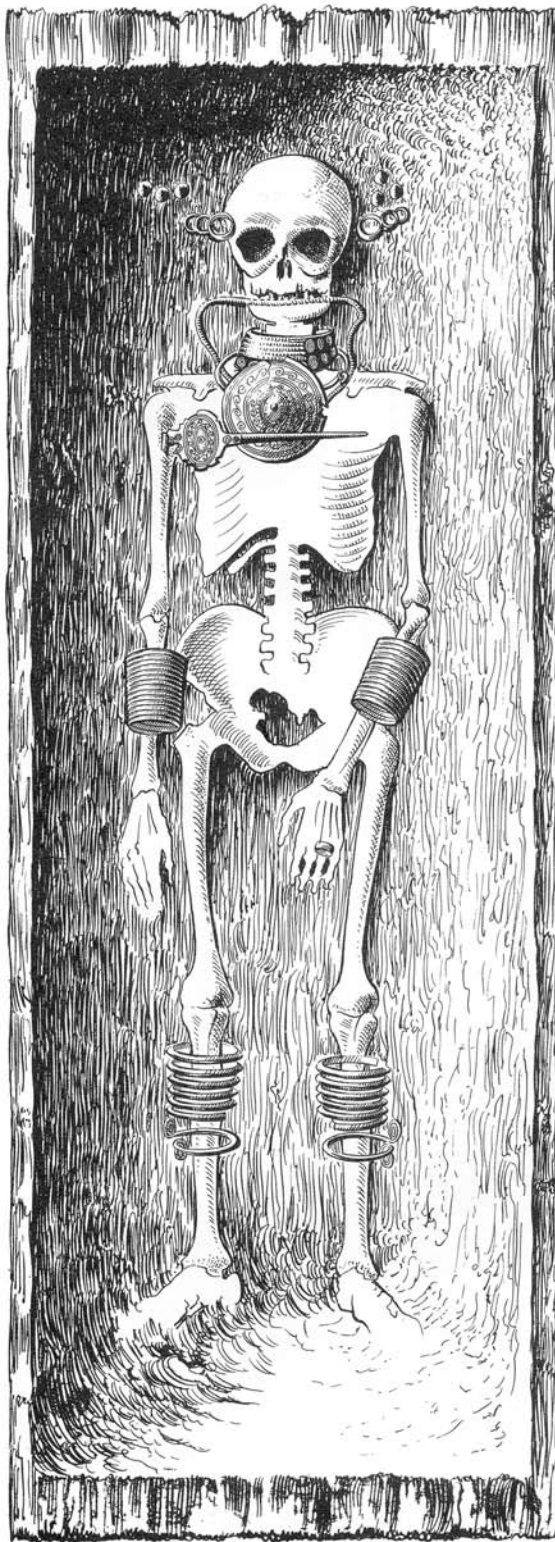
together with the known examples of bone or horn combs from the well preserved graves in other areas, that elaborate hairdos may have been important; what they looked like, however, is impossible to say.

The last case study from the south Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age, around Schleswig, shows a different pattern in contrast to the two from the old Valsømagle area. Here there are no visible Period II female graves, even if female-related objects are found in the Period II hoard from Schleswig (Ke2402), but they are not visible in the burial material. In Period III we can for the first time see women through the presence of metal objects in the graves. Of course the woman buried in grave A from Schuby (Ke2412), which can only be dated roughly to the Middle Bronze Age, might have lived during Period II. This, however, does not change the general picture in which a trend characterised by a growing visibility of females may be detected.

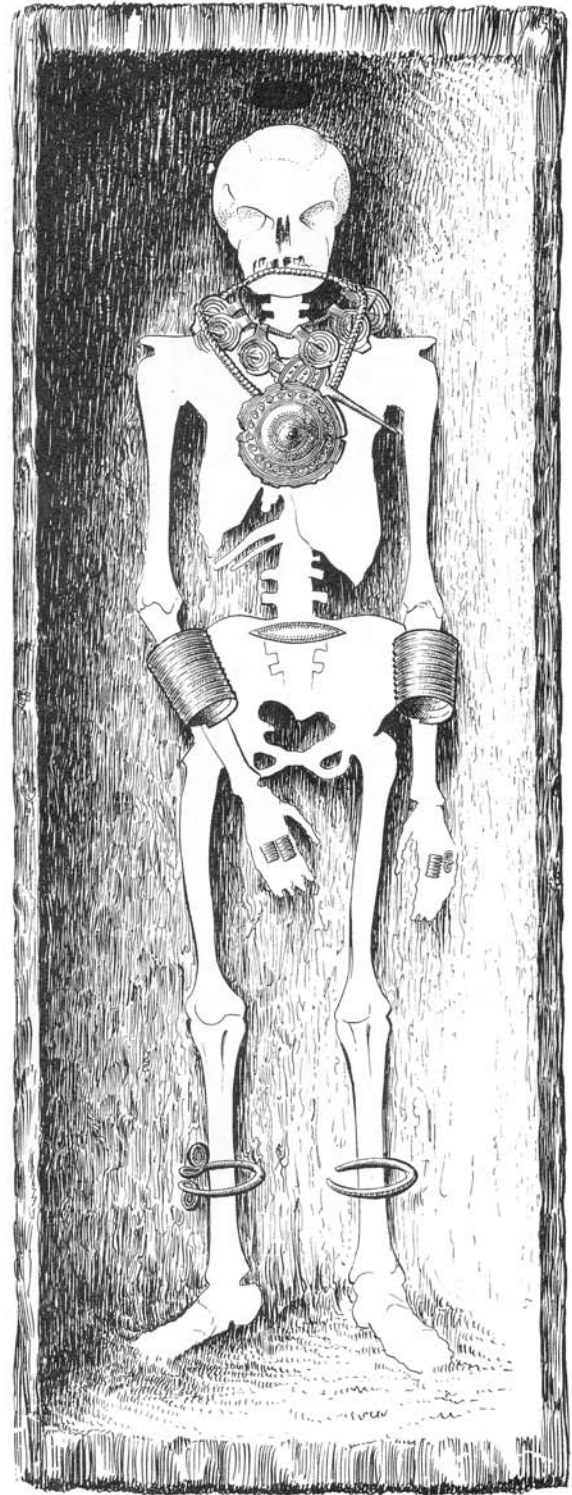
The female burials from Bleckmar and Wardböhmen, on the other hand, show a very different picture from the three south Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age case studies. Of the gender determinable burials we have an almost fifty-fifty split, with slightly more females. If one adds the undeterminable graves, we get c. 1/3 of each category (male, female and unknown gender). It seems like there is a boom of female visibility during the latter half of Period II, compared with the situation in the Danish Isles, where there was a pronounced decrease of female visibility in the graves during Period III. The high visibility of females can also be seen in some of the British Wessex Culture cemeteries (Harding 2000:92). Similar to the Funen burials, the female graves are much more lavishly furnished with bronze objects than the contemporary Period II male graves. Here both prime value and labour value seem to be higher in many of the female graves than the male graves, at least during Period II. In Period III when the more exotic material, gold, becomes present, it seems to occur more commonly in male burials. However, jet beads, such as those found in mound 15 in Bleckmar, are an uncommon material that was imported from the British Isles (Thrane 1962:19). It is difficult to say which was valued the most during the Bronze Age; there are more gold objects than jet beads in the South Scandinavian Bronze Age, suggesting that jet may have been the rarer material.

One can see clear evidence of regionalism, as well as an overall area of uniformity, in the female dress throughout south Scandinavia. Certain artefact categories, such as the Bornholm fibula (for Period III onwards) and the bronze tubes, placed on the corded skirt, show a distinct and localised distribution (Bergerbrant 2005b, Oldeberg 1933:40ff). Differences in other areas are visible in artefact combinations

Figure 76: 1= Plan of grave V in mound 5, Hengstberg, Wardböhmen; 2= Plan of grave II mound 5 Hengstberg, Wardböhmen (from Piesker 1958: Tafel 65). Scale unknown.



1



2

rather than in distinct material types. Regionalism can also be seen in small-scale stylistic differences (see Asingh & Rasmussen 1989, Rønne 1987a + b). In my case study the clearest evidence for local regional differences is observed in the head gear, comparing material from Funen and the Copenhagen area.

The short sleeved blouse appears to have been a common piece of clothing in Northern and Middle Europe, and we have complete examples of it

in Scandinavia (see above) as well as remains in Lower Saxony (Hägg 1996b) and Thuringia (Hägg 1996a:139f). Blouses seem, however, to have been combined in different ways. The example from Schwarza, Suhl, Suhl, Thuringia appears to have been used in combination with a peplos-type cloak (Hägg 1996a:139f). Between my two research areas, however, the female clothing seems similar, i.e. made from similar fabric and into comparable outfits. Small differences occur, however, such as the

example of a long-sleeved blouse in Lower Saxony (Hägg 1996b), and the possibility that the skirt in Lower Saxony was shorter than the examples from Scandinavia, suggested by the fact that it was more common in Lower Saxony to wear ankle rings than in Scandinavia. There is no remaining evidence of the corded skirt in Lower Saxony, but perhaps the corded skirt was worn with ankle rings. The big difference between the two groups is in the head gear. In many Scandinavian regions women seem to have had an elaborate hairstyle and a simpler hairnet, possibly accompanied with earrings and a few lockenrings, whereas a number of women in Lower Saxony had a complicated headdress with many bronze artefacts added to it. The style seems not to have accompanied the women to Scandinavia when they moved there; we have, for example, a number of graves with Lüneburg wheel-headed pins, but no example of Haarknotenfibel (see chapter 7).

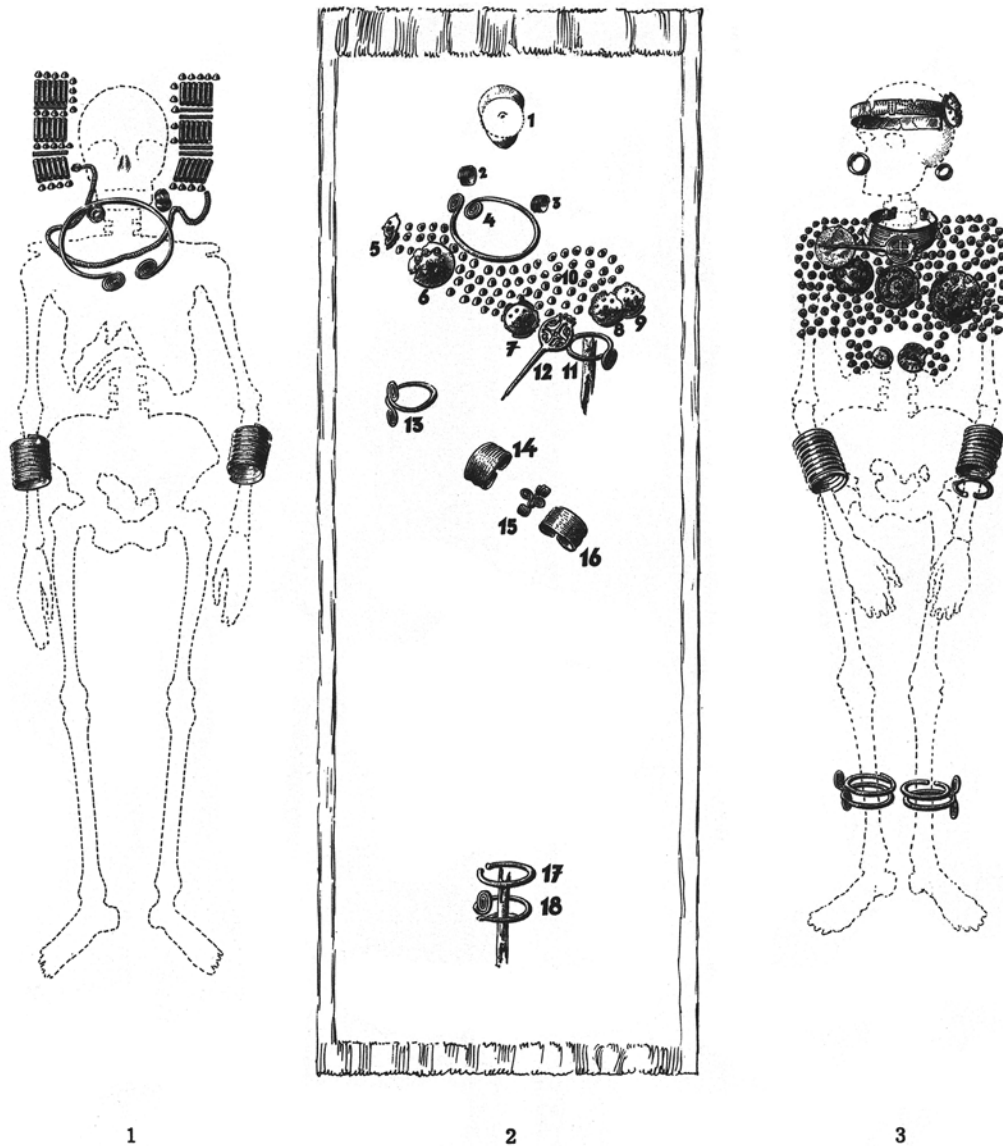
The disc shaped pendants and the quill disc pendants are both used as parts of necklaces in the Lüneburg area, often in relation with bronze spirals. The use of these types of pendants as necklaces can also be seen in regions farther south. Wels-Weyrauch (1978:31f, 167, 1989a, 1991:15f) shows for southern Germany that these types of pendants were generally used either as a single pendant, placed in the neck region, or as part of a necklace placed on the upper torso. Here we can see that this part of the costume on the Lüneburg Heath is more similar to southern costumes than to the northern. Therefore one can say that the female costume on the Lüneburg Heath shares traits both with its northern and southern neighbours. Shared traits with the Fulda-Werra area include the neck collar, Halsbergen, neck-rings, disc pendants, the use of one wheel-headed pin, arm-rings, arm spirals and Armbergen. They differ from the Fulda-Werra region by the lack of spectacle shaped pendants (German: Brillenspiralen) that generally are placed in the pelvis regions (for Fulda-Werra region see Wels-Weyrauch 1978:167, 1989a). With the south Scandinavian region they share the use of neck collars, neck-rings, arm-rings, and the use of round bronze discs (even if there are significant differences in how they are used, these regions to my knowledge are the only ones where round bronze discs are part of the female costume). One major difference is that daggers are not found in female graves on the Lüneburg Heath. Laux (1996a:100) argues that the female costume in the Lüneburg culture originates in the foreign woman buried in Fallingbostel (see chapter 3), but this seems to be an over simplified picture. Even if the woman buried in Fallingbostel clearly had a great impact on the region's future costume, we can also see this interplay with the female costume in the nearby regions.

Here we can see that there is no sharp line between northern and Central Europe for the female costume. There seems to be a gradual changing of the bronze artefacts and possibly the clothing belonging to female costume. A closer study of areas such as the Lüneburg Heath and possibly Fulda-Werra (Wels-Weyrauch 1989a) might help us understand the changing geographical traditions. The Fulda-Werra area is traditionally seen as a part of the Tumulus group, and this relationship can clearly be seen in the shape, form and ornamentation of the bronze objects. However, if one looks at the female costumes there seem to be many similarities with its northern neighbours, and it is the southernmost area where neck collars were used (Wels-Weyrauch 1989a:120). In both the Fulda-Werra and Rhein-Main regions it was traditional for only one pin to be placed on the upper torso, and this differs from other Tumulus groups farther east and south, where two or three pins were placed on the upper torso (Wels-Weyrauch 1989a). This might suggest that they also used different pieces of clothing. Hägg (1996a) has argued that the two pins used on the upper torso in central and southern Europe are indications of the use of a peplos type dress (see above). The use of just one pin in the torso region might indicate a blouse (or a similar top) such as those known from the oak-log coffins found on Jutland, meaning that this type of top may have been used as far south as the Rhein-Main area. To my knowledge there are no analyses of textile fragments from this time period from these areas, and therefore the cloth cannot help us to determine where exactly the border for cloth and clothing exists. Bender Jørgensen (1992:53) argues that in north Germany the main cloth was made of wool, whereas in southern Germany it was made of linen. However, in the intermediate region, central Germany, there existed both woollen tabbies and tabbies made of wool and vegetable fibre. There might be a relationship between the cloth and the type of clothing of which it was made. The different fabrics, i.e. wool fabric and linen cloth, might have been used to create different basic clothing. Rast-Eicher (2005:125) has argued that pins damaged linen cloth more than woollen cloth, and this should argue against the presence of a linen peplos, but the lack of finds makes it hard to determine with any confidence. Based on the artefact evidence a change in costume tradition between south and north seems to occur somewhere in the Rhein-Main area.

Conclusion

We can see clear differences in both male and female burial appearance within the regions. The visibility of the two biological sexes seen through the bronze material varies between the regions. In Scandinavia, when women are visible the differences are not

Figure 77:1= Plan of grave I mound 1, Schaftstallberg, Wardböhmen; 2= plan of grave III mound 9, Wittenberg, Bleckmar; 3= Plan of grave II mound 1, Schaftstallberg, Wardböhmen (from Piesker 1958: Tafel 66). Scale unknown.



that great in the different regions. The main difference here is that in the Schleswig area women are hardly visible at all in the grave material during Period II, when they reach peaks in terms of visibility in the other three case studies.

The trends observed in the men also vary greatly. For example, many men are buried with more than one weapon in the Copenhagen and Schleswig areas, but they are only buried with a few items both on Funen and on the Lüneburg Heath during Period II. However, the placement of the weapons and their relation to the body appears to be more standardised and is similar between Funen and the Copenhagen area and between the Schleswig area and the Lüneburg Heath. There seems to be a dramatic change between the fairly unified Sögel-Wohld area during Period IB and the Schleswig and Lüneburg area during Period II. Despite this major change in burial traditions some of the older structures concerning how people relate to their objects seem to survive longer, and change only later.

One thing that clearly differs between the areas is how the head was dressed, i.e. what was put on

it and what was done with the hair. In both south Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age burials (mainly seen in the oak-log graves) and on the Lüneburg Heath we can see that there were at least two different ways within the cultures for women to wear their hair and adorn their heads. This is probably due to social roles and structures within the female variations of gender. However, the ways of dressing the female head differed between the two major groups. We can also see that there were probably differences in the male head gear between different groups. In Cyprus we know that the head was moulded into differential shapes during the Bronze Age. This indicates that different head shapes signified social differences, gender and status (Lorentz 2006:299ff). Due to the lack of evidence we cannot say if this was done in northern Europe or not, but the head does appear to have been emphasised. There is a very strong emphasis on the head in certain Lüneburg graves, whereas the focus in female Scandinavian burials is rather on the upper torso, but the head and how it was displayed seems to have played an important role here, too.

Kristiansen and Larsson (2005:152f) argue that the Scandinavian female hairstyles from the oak-log coffins and the hairstyles in Minoan frescos and terracotta figures share both general and specific traits. They connect this to a similarity in the ritual role of women in the Mediterranean and in Scandinavia. However, there are many local traits in the way one presents one's head, both concerning the male and female appearance. My argument is more in the line with Wobst's (1977), in that the head and the head gear were used to show both regional and social differences within and outside the local society. Kristiansen and Larsson (2005:150f) also discuss the heart-shaped pendants in their argument of the adoption of a Minoan/Mycenaean formalised ritual practices. I have shown elsewhere that even though the heart-shaped pendant was known in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany during Period IB from burials of women wearing objects that originated Austria-Hungary area, and many of these artefact styles and shapes continue in use on the Lüneburg Heath, they rejected this particular artefact type (Bergerbrant 2005a). This, then, indicates that the same ritual practices and ideas did not reach northern Europe. In southern Scandinavia and northern Germany the female symbolism and power relations seem to come from the round disc, seen in Scandinavia in the belt plate and in the Lüneburg Heath in the round discs. It is possible that these relate either to the sun or the lunar round discs as seen in Trundholm and Nebra (Kaul 2004:252, Meller 2004). Kaul (2004:250ff) argues that the four-spoked wheel (wheel-cross) might symbolise the sun's full travel as well as being a symbol for the sun. The belt plate could relate to this sun symbol and perhaps the female authority comes from the relation to this powerful sun symbol. This could possibly be seen in the four-spoked wheel that is found in a female burial from Storehøj, Tobøl, Føvling parish, Malt district, Ribe Amt (Ke3919B). The wheel is placed in the usual position for a belt plate (Thrane 1962). This could indicate a clear relationship between the wheel-cross, the belt plate, the gold discs and the Trundholm sun chariot (see Kaul 2004:250ff, Kristiansen & Larsson 2005:298ff). The ornamentation on the sun disc on the Trundholm chariot and many of the belt plates with their circular and spiral ornamentation strengthens this hypothesis.

As shown above there are probably two main different female variations, which are seen partly in the bronze objects, but mainly in the use of different head gear. The two groups probably had different social roles with different rights and responsibilities, but they both existed within a general overarching female ideal. Sørensen (1997) has already pointed to the existence of two different female categories for the Central European Middle

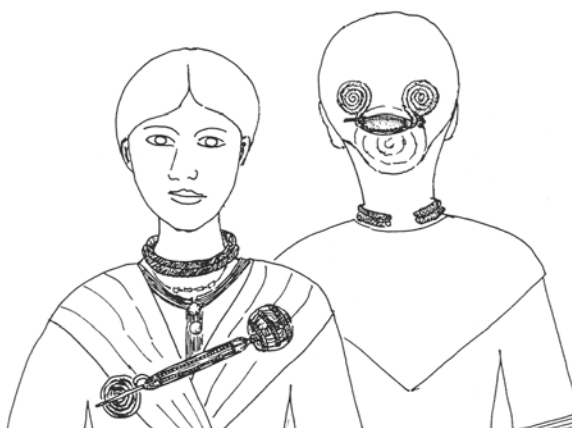


Figure 78: Reconstruction of the use of a Haarknoten-fibel (from Laux 1996a:106 figure 61).

Bronze Age, seen through the bronze objects and their placement on the body. Therefore one can say that the structures of femaleness in both the Lüneburg Heath and the south Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age are similar to the wider European structure. However, there seem to be very different ways of how these two female categories are interpreted and the physical manifestation of this.

While we can see a basic similar structure - even if they are performed and interpreted differently - in the female burial, it is harder to see a basic male structure that crosses the border between the south Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age and the Lüneburg Heath. The male principle seems to be of a very different kind in southern Scandinavia, especially during Period II. The emphasis is on the male warrior and close range fighting technique, whereas the importance placed on the bow and arrow in the Lüneburg Heath seems to indicate a preference for another mode of fighting. There seems to be an attempt during Laux's second male phase to adopt the general European fighting method (see for example Treherne 1995 and chapter 5). However, it never seems to really catch on and later the bow and arrow return as the most important weapon. When the south Scandinavian areas seem to share a general Central European warrior ideal, although taking slightly different forms on the body during Period II, the connection with the general European warrior ideal seems to be strengthened during Period III, not weakened, as in the case of the Lüneburg Heath (for more detailed discussion see chapter 5).

To conclude we can therefore say that regional differences can clearly be seen in the appearance of both men and women between south Scandinavia and the Lüneburg Heath. However, even though regional differences exist within the south Scandinavian culture, it is shown in the relation between the artefacts and the body rather than in different styles and types of artefacts.

5. Male identity: united or separated?

The view of studies of violence in prehistory has varied throughout time. In the post World War II period there were few studies dealing with prehistoric warfare in Sweden or elsewhere (Hedenstierna-Jonson 2006:22, Vandkilde 2006a). Many researchers have studied the concept of the Neolithic and Bronze Age warrior and used dramatic explanations for changes in society, but few have actually studied the violent acts through which this change should have occurred (Vandkilde 2003, 2006a:59ff). From the mid 1990s warfare and violence have returned to the arena and are once again a part of archaeological study (Gilchrist 2003:1, Vandkilde 2003:127). This can, for example, be seen in the project based in Moesgård, 'Archaeological and Social Anthropological Perspective on War and Society' culminating in a major publication in 2006 (Otto, Thrane & Vandkilde 2006).

Here Bronze Age people will be studied through the artefacts that accompanied them into burials and from the evidence we have of trauma in the Bronze Age. Three case studies will be presented in order to see if the level of violence is the same throughout the area of study. Thorpe (2003:159, 2006:143) has pointed out that it is important to remember that the risk level of conflicts may vary from region to region. The author shows that during the Mesolithic the evidence of trauma on skeletal material varies within relatively small areas in Europe. The case studies are therefore needed to evaluate the specifics against the general structure. The case studies are chosen based on their geographical location: one in the former Valsømagle region, two in the former Sögel-Wohld region, one close to the Valsømagle area and one close to the Lüneburg culture. Warfare in pre-history and historical times is usually viewed as only concerning the male sphere, as it is seen as outside the domestic realm. However, in a society where violent acts are common, all its members are concerned. Therefore women and how they were affected will be brought into the following discussion about male identity, warfare and violence.

War and warfare

Treherne (1995) has argued for a common ideal characterising the European male warrior elite. He argues that this ideology started to appear around c. 1500 BC. He argues that a specific lifestyle should be seen in conjunction with an equally important 'death style'. This warrior ideal/lifestyle was, according to Treherne, centred on four fundamental themes that emerge from the graves: warfare (i.e. weaponry), alcohol (i.e. drinking vessels), riding/driving gear, and to a lesser degree, bodily ornamentation (i.e. razors, tweezers etc). The sword is seen as a marker of a new style of warfare, involving prestigious personal combat with well defined social and ritual rules. He sees the warrior as becoming increasingly ritualised over the second millennium BC. In this warrior ideal package accessories for grooming (for example, combs of different materials, bronze tweezers, razors, mirrors and awls) play an important role. In short, one had to look the part.

Many researchers have accepted Treherne's view of a common male warrior ideal. I agree with Treherne, but only to a point. In southern Scandinavia a warrior ideal can be seen that includes at least three of his four themes. In Scandinavia, for example, the riding/driving equipment first makes an appearance during the Late Bronze Age, but the gear seems to have a female connection rather than a male one (Thrane 1975:122, 129). In some regions, like on the Lüneburg Heath, this male ideal seems not to have been accepted around 1500 BC. It is also hard to see it at all during the Middle Bronze Age. During Period II the only swords and grooming equipment found in the Lüneburg culture area are of foreign origin, most often found in a grave with full equipment from a foreign area, i.e. a foreign man (see Bergerbrant 2005a). The weaponry in the Lüneburg culture differs from many surrounding regions in being in many ways a continuation of the Stone Age in terms of warfare equipment, only using the new material, i.e. bronze. There are parallels with the Central European Early Bronze Age male equipment containing a dagger, an axe and a pin (see for example Wels-Weyrauch et al 1986:149). In the Lüneburg area a change occurs first during Period III, when spearheads seem to be the most important weapon based on the grave equipment.

Riding/driving gear is completely absent during the Middle Bronze Age, and even though ceramic vessels are found in the graves they cannot be associated with alcohol. The distribution of ceramic vessels is such that they are found in both male and female graves, and they therefore cannot be specifically associated with either sex.

What, then, is warfare? There are many definitions of warfare, some with a tight, restricted meaning, while others are less rigid. Below Thorpe's definition from his 2003 article will be followed, where warfare is defined as "organized aggression between autonomous political units" (Thorpe 2003:146). This definition is wide-ranging, and includes war and raids. This all-encompassing definition is chosen to enable a discussion of the level of hostility and danger of physical violence in Bronze Age society.

Case study:

Ars district, Holbæk County and
Gram district, Haderslev County

The material used for this study comes from volumes 2 and 7 by Aner and Kersten, and can be found in appendices 6 and 7.

Kristiansen (1983) has shown that there is a difference in the degree of wear between the solid-metal hilted sword and the flanged-hilted sword. The first shows less wear compared with the flanged-hilted sword. An interpretation has been that they are the swords of the ritual leader/chief and the warrior chief (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005:275ff). In the following study this difference is not taken into account, as the above assumption is a generalisation and full hilted swords with a high degree of re-sharpening exists (Kristiansen 1983:73 figure 6). This implies that one would need to look at the wear pattern for every sword in the study areas to know which show use wear and which do not. Here the focus is simply on the presence or absence of the weapon being discussed.

As shown in table 5.1 we can see that there are more burials (in percentage terms) with weapons in them in Gram district than there are in Ars district. This can be seen in all categories except the indeterminate (male/female) graves. This could be due to the fact that in Ars district there are so few graves of this type. A total of 79% of weapons in all Period II burials in Gram district indicate that there might have been a higher level of violence in this area than in Ars district. Of course a full examination of the presence of all weapons and all the skeletal remains and settlement sites is needed to draw more definite conclusions about the level of violence, as phenomena other than warfare may play a role in the number of weapons in the burials.

P III	nr ♂	with weapons % ♀	nr ♀	with weapons % ♂	Children	? Nr	? with weapons %	Total number of graves	% weapons
Ars district	6	83	4	25	1	3	67	14	57
Gram district	34	94	7	57	0	16	56	57	79

Table 5.1 Number of weapons (i.e. swords, daggers, spearheads, axes) during Period II in the two different districts.

P III	nr ♂	with weapons % ♀	nr ♀	with weapons % ♂	Children	? Nr	? with weapons %	Total number of graves	% weapons
Ars district	7	100	0	0	0	6	0	13	54
Gram district	41	75	5	0	0	34	18	80	45

Table 5.2 Number of weapons (i.e. swords, daggers, spearheads, axes) during Period III in the two different districts

MBA	nr ♂	with weapons % ♀	nr ♀	with weapons % ♂	Children	? Nr	? with weapons %	Total number of graves	% weapons
Ars district	6	100	0	0	3	17	24	26	38
Gram district	22	91	0	0	1	110	11	133	24

Table 5.3 Number of weapons (i.e. swords, daggers, spearheads, axes) in the burials that can only be dated to the Middle Bronze Age or probable Middle Bronze Age in the two different districts

We can also see that the areas with the most indications of violence have a higher percentage of women buried with daggers than the ones with fewer hints of violence.

Period III shows a different picture, even though the level of violence appears not to have increased. In Ars district the importance of weapons for the masculine image seems to have increased. All burials with male-related objects include a weapon. In Gram district, however, a clear decrease is seen in the number of burials with weapons. This could be interpreted as a sign that the level of violence decreased in the society. There are also more male graves that have male-associated artefacts without a weapon included. None of the Period III female graves includes a dagger.

Sögel-Wholde (PIB)	nr of graves	% swords	% daggers	% axes	% spearheads	% arrowheads	% total male graves with weapons
North Hannover	7		29	43		86	100
Ilmenau	3		100	33	33		100
Südheide	3		100	66		100	100
Weser-Elms	14		64	57	7	64	100
Westfalen	8		88	63	13		100
Total	35		69	54	9	51	100

Table 5.4 Weapons in undisturbed male graves from Period IB in Lower Saxony based on Bergmann 1970A table 2

Period II	nr of graves	% swords	% daggers	% axes	% spearheads	% arrowheads	% total male graves with weapons
North Hannover	26	42	65	46	15	4	100
Ilmenau	9	11	78	56	11	11	100
Südheide	51		59	24	2	47	86
Middle & South Hannover	2		100		50		100
Weser-Elms+Westfalen	8	13	13	50	13	13	100
Total	96	14	59	32	10	28	93

Table 5.5 Weapons in undisturbed male graves from Period II in Lower Saxony based on Bergmann 1970A table 3

P III	nr of graves	% swords	% daggers	% axes	% spearheads	% arrowheads	% total male graves with weapons
North Hannover	4	75	25				100
Ilmenau, Südheide & Middle & South Hannover	27	4	41	4	89	7	96
Weser-Elms	6	50	17	17	33		100
Total	37	19	30	5	70	5	97

Table 5.6 Weapons in undisturbed male graves from Period III in Lower Saxony based on Bergmann 1970A table 4

Among the graves that can only be determined as Middle Bronze Age or probable Middle Bronze Age, either due to lack of determinable objects or because the objects have gone missing, we see a higher level of presence of weapons in the burials in Ars district than in Gram district. In this category there are no clear female burials and most of the male graves have weapons.

To conclude this brief discussion about the two different regions, in Ars district it appears that the level of violence seen through the graves is fairly constant throughout the Middle Bronze Age, whereas in Gram district the level of violence seems to have been higher during Period II than during Period III. This indicates, as noted by Thorpe, that there were fluctuating levels of violence during the Middle Bronze Age, and this varied from area to area. It is interesting to note that the period with the most weapons in the graves in general also has the highest occurrence of female graves with daggers.

Case study: The Lüneburg Heath

The important question is: why did the people in the Lüneburg Heath reject this otherwise fairly common male warrior ideal where the emphasis seems to have been placed on the sword? Why did they choose to emphasise a different fighting technique in their burial tradition for so long? Is this an indication that their preferred fighting technique was different from that of their neighbours? The emphasis appears to have been on long distance fighting whereas burials elsewhere show a preference for short range combat.

The tables below show that within a modern region (Lower Saxony), which includes many different Bronze Age cultures, the weapons occurring in male burials can differ widely between regions and over time. In the Sögel-Wholde period the total number of graves is low, but they indicate a relatively stable method of combat, where the main weapons were daggers and axes. In North Hannover, South Heath (German: Südheide) and in the Weser-Ems area the bow and arrow were also used. This type of weaponry cannot be seen in the Ilmenau area or in Westfalen. The reason for this in the Ilmenau area is possibly due to the dearth of graves, but it nevertheless seems unlikely that the bow and arrow played an important role in Westfalen.

In Period II the picture looks quite different. Here much greater regional variation is observed. Swords become an important weapon form in both North Hannover, i.e. south Scan-

dinavian Middle Bronze Age culture, and to a lesser extent in the Weser and Ems and Westfalen regions. In the South Heath and Ilmenau area the new weapon type plays a very marginal role. The sword found in the Ilmenau area is probably of Scandinavian origin (Laux 1971:69). It is possible that it is the grave of a foreign man; however, as two of the artefacts from the grave, a dagger and a ring, are now missing it is hard to determine. It is clear that daggers play an important role in Lower Saxony, except in the Weser-Ems area. Axes continued to have an important role among the weaponry. Spearheads also seem to maintain their status, whereas that of the bow and arrow was decreasing.⁵¹

A dramatic change occurs in Period III. The use of swords continues in North Hannover, and increases in importance in the Weser-Ems area. The sword also continues to be an unimportant weapon in the Lüneburg Heath. Daggers, however, decrease in importance generally all over Lower Saxony. The use of bows and arrows is marginalized in the grave equipment. However, one burial innovation takes place in the Lüneburg Heath: from previously being insignificant in the grave material, the spearhead becomes the most commonly occurring weapon in burials. Despite this, it seems to be treated as unimportant in North Hannover. Willroth (1989:91) has shown that in the western part of Holstein there are more spearheads in the graves than, for example, in southernmost Jutland during Period II.

A study of the distribution maps in Jacob-Friesen's (1967) major publication on spearheads shows that most of the spearheads have been found as stray finds.⁵² With the exception of the Kirke Sâby type, the percentage of the stray finds varies between 33% (Kirke Sâby type) to 75% (Lüneburg type III). This might indicate that spearheads were used in actual fighting more than we can read from the burial material, and the fact that we find tips of spearheads embedded in human skeletal material in both the British Isles and in Denmark indicates that it was used as a weapon to kill. This also means that some of the spearheads found in burials are not actually present there as grave goods, but as the cause of death (see below). The deposition pattern of many of the spearheads shows that even though they are found in graves, hoards, and as stray finds in their central region, outside this area they are most often found as stray finds or in bogs. This can be seen in the example of the Smørumøvne type (central area Schleswig-Holstein and southernmost Jutland), the Hulterstad type (central area along the Elbe), and the Lüneburg type (central area the Lüneburg Heath). A closer examination of the burials with a spearhead outside the main area might show if they were included as the cause of death or a part of the grave goods. A closer study of the relation

between the different depositional practices of the spearheads might also help us to understand differences over time in the levels of violence between and within different groups.

It has here been shown that male identity, as seen through weapons, varied in the area of modern day Lower Saxony, both between different groups and over time. At the beginning all regions indicated in the burials exercised a fighting technique that was closely related to that of the Stone Age. This changed over the Middle Bronze Age and the different groups had different preferences of combat as demonstrated in the graves. It seems unlikely that a conflict between, for example, the North Hannover area and the Lüneburg area during Period III could have agreed on one set of rules with two groups meeting in an even fight – man against man – as the groups seems to have gained prestige from different types of fighting. In the North Hannover area, as seen through the burial material, one engaged in close range fighting, whereas in the Lüneburg Heath a longer distance between the combatants seems to have been preferred. However, a comparison of all the weapons found in the grave material, stray finds, and in hoards could help us to understand if there were only differences in which mode conferred status or if there were actual differences in fighting techniques. Or, could it have been social differences that determined the mode of combat?

Case study: The threefold frontier

This case study is based on the 1989 article "Reiche Männergräber aus Gülzow" by Laux. The area in question is a 'frontier' zone where three different cultural groups converged, specifically the peoples from south Scandinavia, the Lüneburg culture and those inhabiting the Mecklenburg area. The area along the Elbe marks the border zone between the Lüneburg culture and the south Scandinavian Bronze Age. In Mecklenburg there are no known Period IB burials and only a few from Period II. Only in Period III are there numerous Middle Bronze Age burials. However, the hoards show a different picture, with numerous hoards during Period II and just a few during Period III (Zimmermann 1988:154f). The artefacts found in the hoards in Mecklenburg during Period II can be said to contain artefacts of Scandinavian types as well as northwest German types (Schubart 1972:66). The Period III burials are traditionally seen as belonging to the South Scandinavian/Nordic Bronze Age, but they contain artefact categories of mixed origins. There are many objects that closely relate to south Scandinavia, but also objects that clearly have their roots in more southern artefact traditions (Schubart 1972). One can therefore argue that the Mecklenburg region did not belong to the Nordic Bronze Age power sphere until Period III at the

⁵¹ An exception could be the Middle and South Hannover region, but the numbers of graves from the region is so small it could be misleading.

⁵² The spearheads with bog patina are excluded from this group and are treated as possible votive offerings.

earliest, despite evidence of contact from an earlier stage. This seems likely due to the fact that many of the Carpathian types of artefacts that reached the eastern south Scandinavian area probably came via Mecklenburg or accompanied people who travelled through the region; see for example, the distribution by Apa-Hajdúsámson of swords or Schafttröhrenäxte (Hachmann 1957: Map 13 & 15). Schubart has called the Mecklenburg area a *Mischkultur* (English: mixed culture) (Schubart 1972:71). In western Mecklenburg the combination of weapons in male graves is slightly different from the traditional south Scandinavian assemblages. The artefacts are of Nordic type, but the bow and arrow were also a part of the funeral equipment (Laux 1989:60). This area is therefore extremely important in the study of contact and conflict between different cultural groups during the Middle Bronze Age.

Laux argues that the view put forward by Kersten in 1952, i.e. that there was an Ilmenau group of the Lüneburg culture stretched over the north banks of the river Elbe, is more complex than previously believed (Laux 1989:51). In the article Laux analyses the weapon and jewellery combinations in the region in order to decide the culture to which they relate. He regards Scandinavian assemblages of sword-axe-dagger as part of the male armour, whereas female burials with a dagger are described in more passive terms, as a costume (Laux 1989:68).

My study is based on Laux's distribution maps (see figures 79–82).

Based on different combinations of weapons Laux discusses the cultural belonging of different burials in the region. These results are then plotted on different maps. One can see for the Period II burials (figures 79) that the area clearly mainly contains so-called Nordic graves. There are three graves which Laux calls west Holstein burials as they contain spearheads, but they must be seen as part of the south Scandinavian group. One of the weapon assemblages in a grave is seen as being a part of the Lüneburg culture (Ilmenau group).

This picture is, however, drastically changed in Period III (see figure 80), when a much more mixed male weaponry combination is apparent in the area. Now the area between the Wandse and Delvenau waterways displays a range of burials that can be connected to south Scandinavia, Mecklenburg and the Lüneburg culture. In contrast, the areas north of this zone are still dominated by Nordic assemblages, even if a few Mecklenburg weapon assemblages can be found here as well.

Laux determines all female burials with daggers as belonging to the Nordic culture, despite the fact that some have 'classical' Lüneburg objects such as single profiled wheel-headed pins. He argues that they may have immigrated or married into the area (Laux 1989:65f), i.e. thereby 'becoming' 'Nordic'.

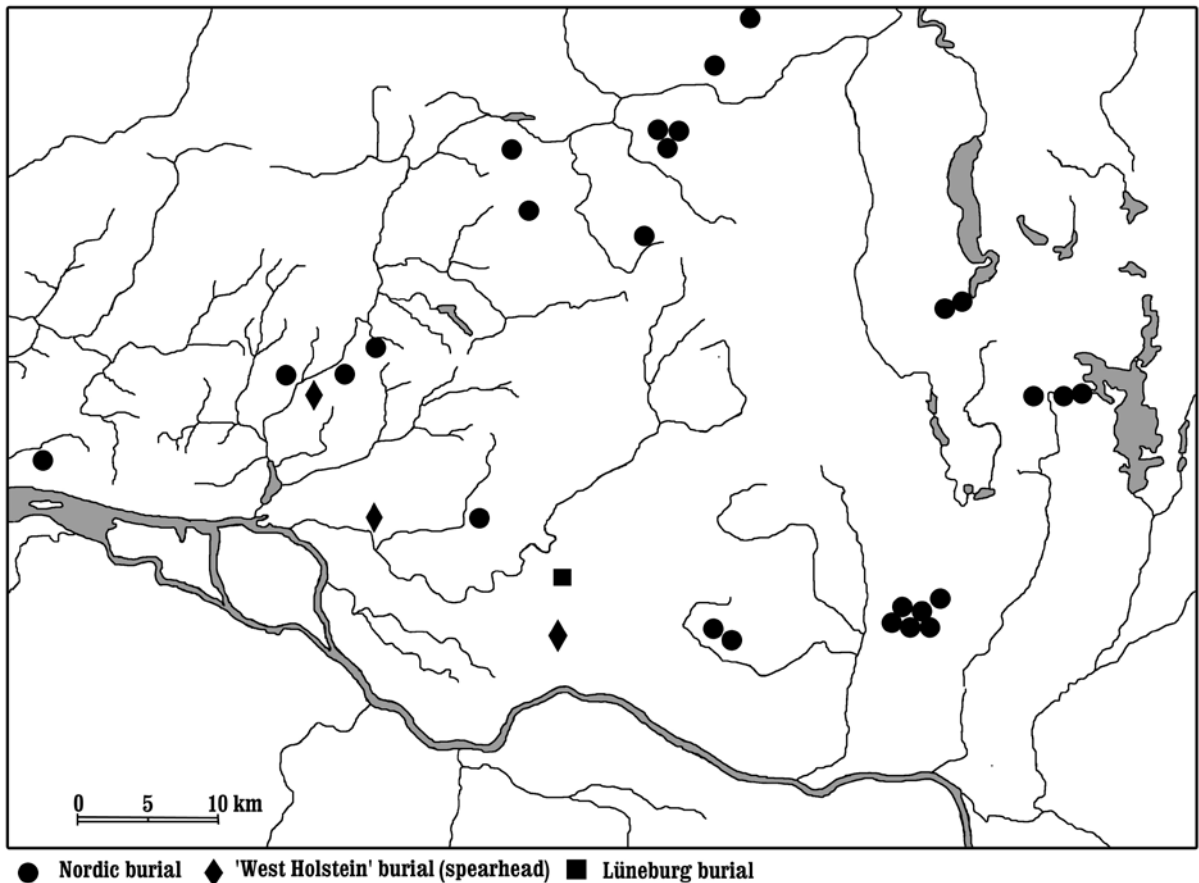


Figure 79: Period II male burials north of the Elbe (based on Laux 1989:62 figure 7).

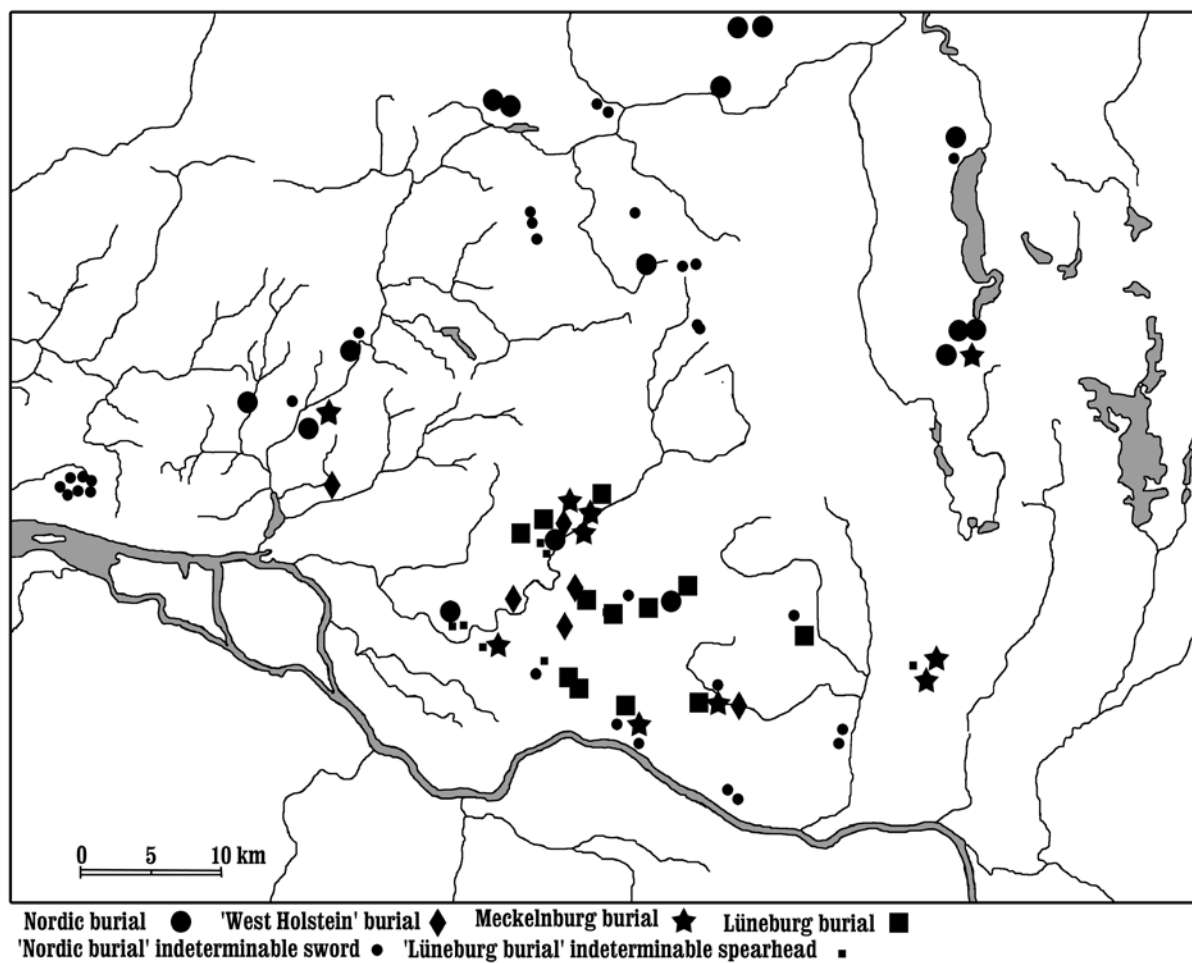


Figure 80: Period III male burials north of the Elbe (based on Laux 1989:63 figure 8).

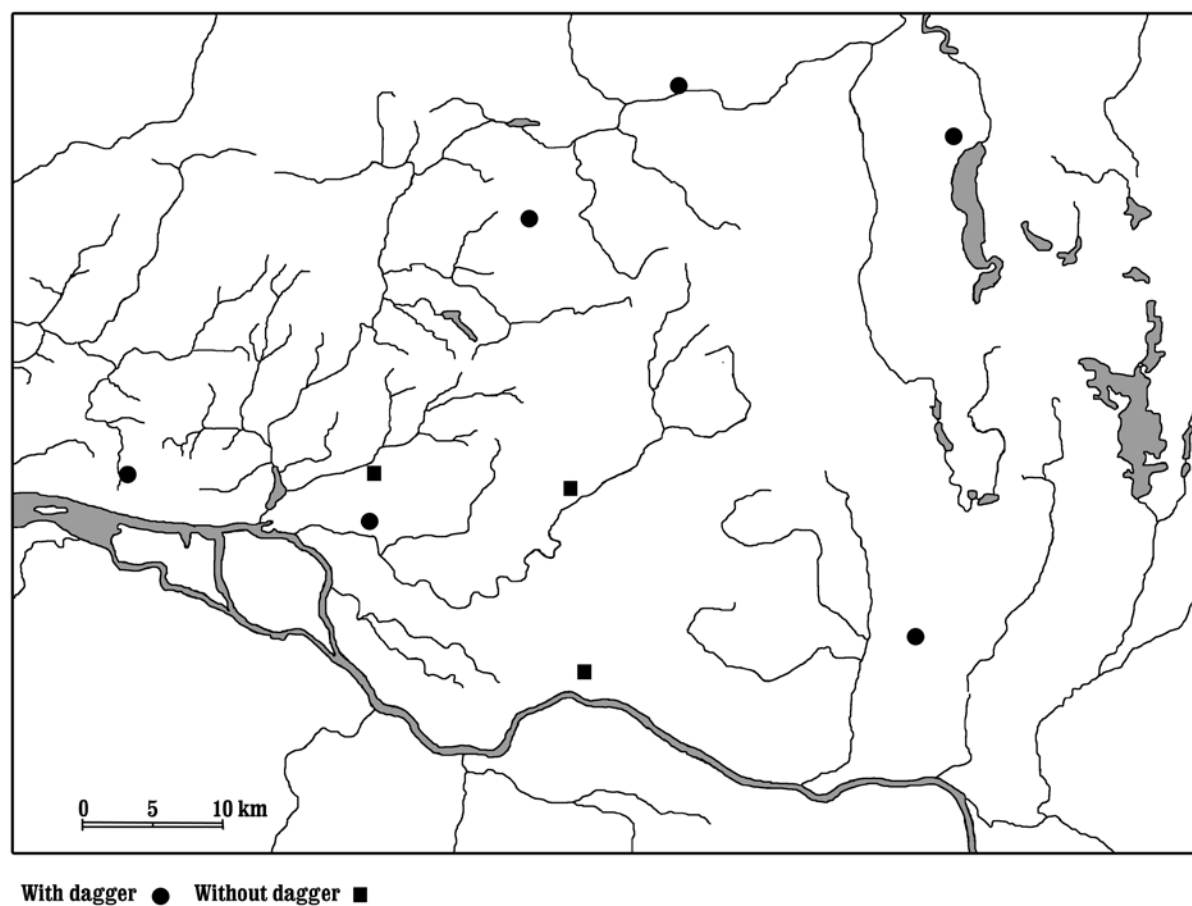


Figure 81: Period II female burials north of the Elbe (based on Laux 1989:64 figure 9).

Out of the nine plotted female Period II burials, six have a dagger (see figure 81). It is unusual to have so many female graves with daggers from one area. In the following period we can see a clear number of female graves with Lüneburg costume (from different costume groups within the Lüneburg culture). These female burials dominate the area between the Wandse and the Delvenau. Only one traditional Nordic female burial can be found within this area. The females wearing costumes relating to the different groups are less geographically mixed than the males according to the burial equipment. None of the Period III female graves contains a dagger (see figure 82).

It seems that during Period II there were more rigid boundaries, although some people moved across the borders, as reflected in a degree of mixing in burial traditions. This rigidity lessens during Period III, at least where the male weapon assemblages are concerned. The area in the northwest shows a consistent sense of belonging for the south Scandinavian group. The area between the Wandse and the Delvenau, the 'border zone', shows an even more varied use of the characteristic assemblages from the different cultures, resulting in a visible mixing of cultural traditions.

Perhaps the situation during Period II can be related to conflict(s) that might have resulted in violent action(s), as seen for example in the many female burials with daggers. During Period II this conflict may have been resolved and a more open

and harmonious time followed. This more peaceful time would have allowed the mixing of cultures that in the long run led to the expansion of the Nordic Bronze Age culture during the Late Bronze Age (see Thrane 1975:15 for the Nordic Bronze Age border in the Late Bronze Age).

Women and warfare

"Att äfven könet härstädes varit beväpnadt torde hafva haft sin grund deri, att det ansetts nödvändigt i en tid, då de utländska kolonisterna ännu bodde bland halfvildar, för hvilkas anfall de, likasom de Europiska kolonisterna i Amerika, förmodligen ej sällan voro blottställda"

"That here even the fairer sex was armed would seem to be due to its being deemed necessary in a time when the foreign colonists still lived among half savages, to the assaults of whom they were, like the European colonists in America, not infrequently exposed." [translation Neil Price].

(Nilsson, S. 1872:120, concerning the dagger and the 'small shield' in the female grave from Borum Eshøj).

As previously pointed out by Thorpe (2006:142) the possibility of female warriors in prehistoric Europe is an area that has received very little attention. Female warriors are something archaeological re-

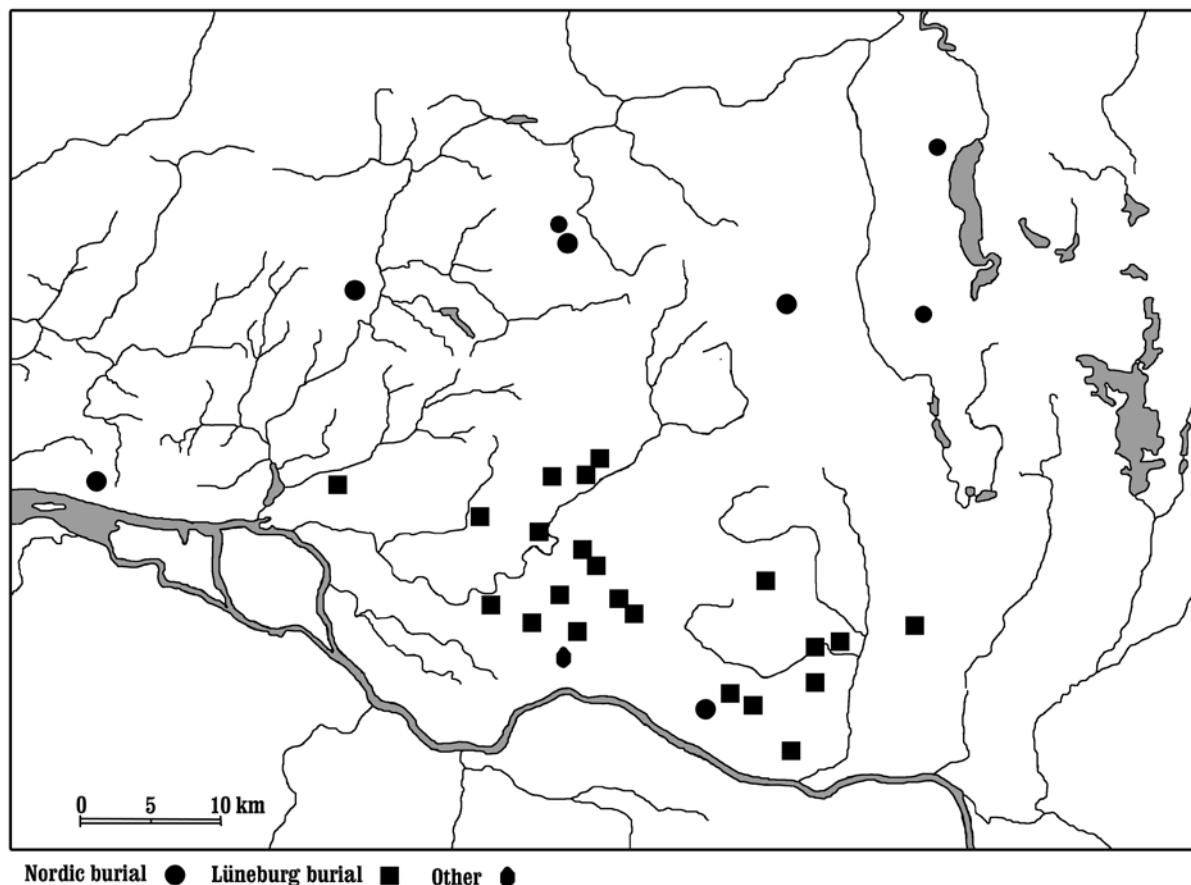


Figure 82: Period III female burials north of the Elbe (based on Laux 1989:65 figure 10).

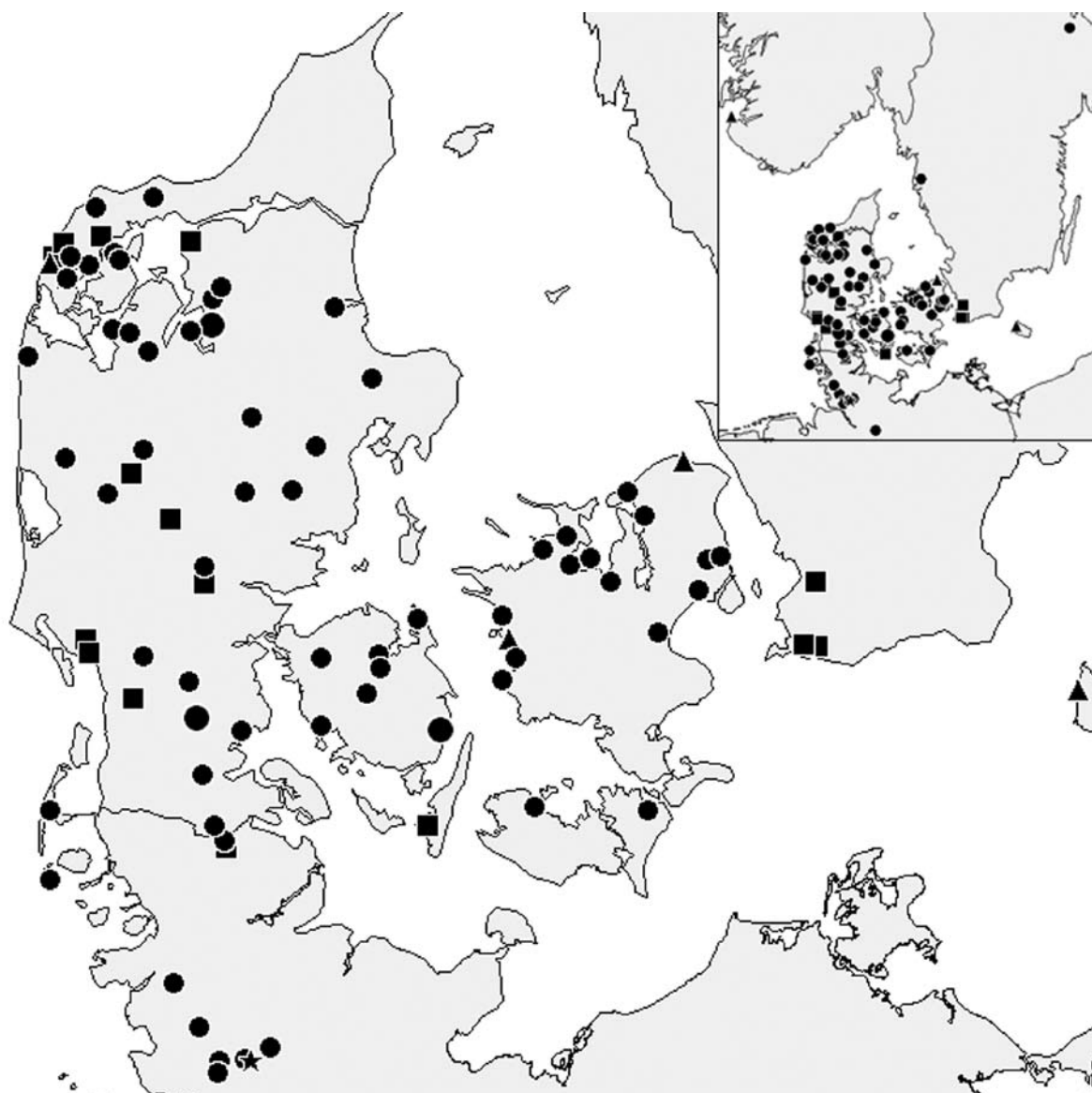


Figure 83: Female graves with daggers (except the areas Segeberg, Plön, Ostholstein, Pinneberg, Hamburg, Cuxhaven, Stormarn, Hzt Lauenberg). Star (Q) = Period IB, Circles (I) = Period II, squares (q) = Period III, Triangles(s) = Middle Bronze Age; larger shapes = two female burials with daggers.

search has avoided talking about or else ignored totally.

There is evidence of female warriors from different parts of the world. For example, if the interpretation is correct that the soldiers in the Qui Shi Huang-di's famous terracotta army were representations of real people (Quian 1981, referenced in Nelson 1997), then the group of female clay soldiers must have reflected a reality (Nelson 1997:139f). Similarly, Hollimon (2001) has shown that there were female warriors in the upper Missouri River, USA. These women joined war parties where they either participated as combatants or conducted ritual functions related to warfare. These female warriors can be seen both in the ethnographic and ethnohistoric record, as well as in osteological evidence that lends further support to the ethnographic evidence.

Closer to the area under investigation, in the kurgans of the Eurasian Steppes, female graves have been found which include grave goods such as iron swords, daggers, armour, and projectile points. Some of the female skeletons show traces of being

bow-legged (perhaps from spending long periods on horse back?). Both the artefact assemblages and the skeletal information indicate that there have been female warriors in this culture. In the cemetery at Pokrova seven female warrior graves have been found and they date to between the fourth to the second centuries BC (Davis-Kimball 1997, 2002:56ff). In the Sauromatian area 20% of the warrior graves have been osteologically determined to female (Rolle 1989:89). In this region most of the female warrior burials contain only a bow and arrow, but in other areas the graves contain weapons like bronze arrowheads, iron spearheads, swords and daggers (Guliaev 2003:115, Rolle 1989:89). Many of them also contain artefact categories that are traditionally seen as female, such as spindle-whorls and bronze mirrors (Guliaev 2003:115, Rolle 1989:91). Despite concluding that many female warrior graves existed and that they were treated in the same manner as the male warriors in the Scythian territory, and that many of them had met a violent death, Guilaev's interpretation was that the role of

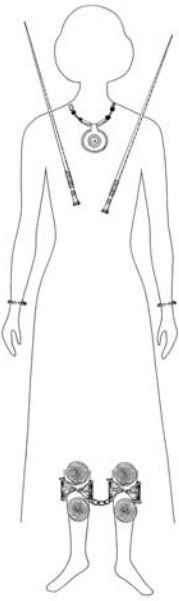


Figure 84: Female grave from the Alb group (Tumulus culture) with ankle-rings united by a chain (from Wels-Weyrauch 1989:128 figure 8A).

these women was to guard the 'hearth and home-stead' while the adult male warriors were away on raids or longer military campaigns (Guilaeu 2003). This seems to be yet another attempt to keep women in the domestic sphere, even when both ancient literature and the archaeological remains point to an active female warrior group for whom the horse was an important aspect of their warfare. The importance placed on horses in the literature for the so-called Amazons (Guilaeu 2003:113), as well as the presence of riding gear (Davis Kimball 2002:54), is indicative of active warriors who fought and attacked from horseback, rather than passive, defending warriors who sat at home waiting to be attacked. The fact that some of the graves contain both objects that traditionally belong to females and weaponry indicates that this group was seen as belonging to the female sphere, and they relate both to other females and to the males in their burial goods. Therefore it seems unlikely that they would have been seen as an entirely separate gender group, but rather it could have been something one chose to do, e.g. for a limited period of time.

According to Hårde (2006:353ff) 5% of the 237 warrior graves from the Nitra culture (Early Bronze Age culture along the Nitra river) are osteologically determined to female and 15% were children. Hårde writes: "we should not be unfamiliar with the possibility that some women might have been warriors" (Hårde 2006:355). He does not present these in any detail, so it is hard to know if they contain other more traditional female objects as well, or if these are the possible burials of women who have taken on the full identity of a warrior without connecting to the female ideal at all. There seems to be many ways for biological women to relate to the male warrior ideal, either by fully embracing it and rejecting all symbols/objects relating to the female sphere, or by connecting to both male and female objects simultaneously.

An important question raised by a professor in International Relations (Goldstein 2001:5) is: why is that, even though many societies have lived or been destroyed by war, very few have mobilized women? According to the author there is no biological reason for this lack of female participation in warfare. Instead, it seems to be due only to cultural factors (Goldstein 2001: chapter 4).

In Scandinavia a fair number of the female burials from Period II and III include a dagger. The presence of daggers was discussed early on in the historic archaeological literature. The background to this debate was the discovery of the woman in Borum Eshøj in 1871, whose grave contained, among other things, a dagger; this artefact type had previously been seen as an exclusively male object. This new find sparked a debate about the essence and nature of females. Müller (1876: 282ff) argues

from the basis of the clothing in the graves that the males were warriors and the females lived a calmer life, as their costume was much more limiting for movement. The author considered it most likely that the daggers found in female graves were for defence reasons, whereas the male swords and daggers were for attack purposes. The author does, however, speculate about the possibility that the women followed/helped the males in battles. Mestorf (1889:151) points out that not all women wore a dagger, and she wondered if the ones who did chose to participate with the men in warfare, or did they hunger for land? She uses a Roman source to claim that Germanic women at later times fought bravely along with their men. She includes Saxo and the Nordic sagas in the discussion about the female martial temperament. She argued that women who had a bellicose nature were in the minority, while most women found happiness within the family sphere. She argued that this was supported by the large number of rich graves including jewellery and tools. This debate had, however, been preceded by a debate about what artefacts/artefact combinations could be perceived as male or female (Hjørungdal 1994:143f). Subsequently, following this initial discussion of the role of daggers in female burials, the subject has been overlooked.

There are 69 female graves in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Schleswig-Holstein⁵³ (excluding Segeberg, Plön, Ostholstein, Pinneberg, Hamburg, Cuxhaven, Stormarn, Hsgt Lauenberg, Counties) from Period II that include a dagger (to this there can be added 21 graves that can be dated to Middle Bronze Age or PIII) (see appendix 8). Only the daggers that are found in combination with secure female indicators, i.e. neck collars, neck-rings, belt plates, ankle-rings, bronze tubes, or with textile remains suggestive of female dress are counted. There are also other possible female graves with daggers, but they lack exclusively female artefacts (see the Aner and Kersten volumes).

One can see that the distribution of female graves with daggers is uneven throughout the regions (see figure 83): some regions, e.g. Gram district in Denmark, have a concentration of female graves with daggers (three clear cases⁵⁴ and some possible cases⁵⁵) belonging to Period II. Another example is in Thisted County, where there is a concentration of female graves with daggers in the south part of the county, with a concentration of five female graves with daggers⁵⁶; in this region there is also a continuation of the material into Period III. In other areas such as the islands of Falster or Lolland only one female grave contains a dagger, whereas in regions such as Scania and Ribe County all or the majority of daggers in female graves are dated to Period III.

As shown above, one can see a correlation between the total number of graves with weapons and the

⁵³ Based on Aner and Kersten's volumes of *Die Funde der älteren Bronzezeit des nordischen Kreises in Dänemark, Schleswig-Holstein und Niedersachsen für Dänemark und Schleswig-Holstein*; for Scania it is based on Håkansson (1985) (catalogue) and Oldeberg (1974); for the northern part of Jutland the material is found in Broholm (1942), so there might be more graves lacking from northern Jutland than from the other areas.

⁵⁴ Ke3530A, Ke3521E, Ke3515B.

⁵⁵ For example the grave in Klovtoft (Ke3454) containing a dagger, a pin and two Lockenring.

⁵⁶ Ke4955C, Ke4993B, Ke5039A, Ke5268B, Ke5372.

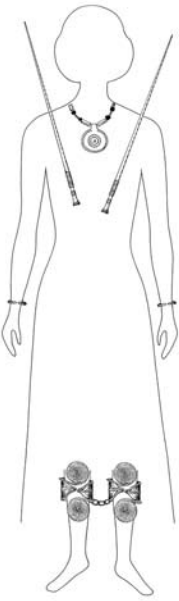


Figure 84: Female grave from the Alb group (Tumulus culture) with ankle-rings united by a chain (from Wels-Weyrauch 1989:128 figure 8A).

these women was to guard the 'hearth and home-stead' while the adult male warriors were away on raids or longer military campaigns (Guilaeu 2003). This seems to be yet another attempt to keep women in the domestic sphere, even when both ancient literature and the archaeological remains point to an active female warrior group for whom the horse was an important aspect of their warfare. The importance placed on horses in the literature for the so-called Amazons (Guilaeu 2003:113), as well as the presence of riding gear (Davis Kimball 2002:54), is indicative of active warriors who fought and attacked from horseback, rather than passive, defending warriors who sat at home waiting to be attacked. The fact that some of the graves contain both objects that traditionally belong to females and weaponry indicates that this group was seen as belonging to the female sphere, and they relate both to other females and to the males in their burial goods. Therefore it seems unlikely that they would have been seen as an entirely separate gender group, but rather it could have been something one chose to do, e.g. for a limited period of time.

According to Hårde (2006:353ff) 5% of the 237 warrior graves from the Nitra culture (Early Bronze Age culture along the Nitra river) are osteologically determined to female and 15% were children. Hårde writes: "we should not be unfamiliar with the possibility that some women might have been warriors" (Hårde 2006:355). He does not present these in any detail, so it is hard to know if they contain other more traditional female objects as well, or if these are the possible burials of women who have taken on the full identity of a warrior without connecting to the female ideal at all. There seems to be many ways for biological women to relate to the male warrior ideal, either by fully embracing it and rejecting all symbols/objects relating to the female sphere, or by connecting to both male and female objects simultaneously.

An important question raised by a professor in International Relations (Goldstein 2001:5) is: why is that, even though many societies have lived or been destroyed by war, very few have mobilized women? According to the author there is no biological reason for this lack of female participation in warfare. Instead, it seems to be due only to cultural factors (Goldstein 2001: chapter 4).

In Scandinavia a fair number of the female burials from Period II and III include a dagger. The presence of daggers was discussed early on in the historic archaeological literature. The background to this debate was the discovery of the woman in Borum Eshøj in 1871, whose grave contained, among other things, a dagger; this artefact type had previously been seen as an exclusively male object. This new find sparked a debate about the essence and nature of females. Müller (1876: 282ff) argues

from the basis of the clothing in the graves that the males were warriors and the females lived a calmer life, as their costume was much more limiting for movement. The author considered it most likely that the daggers found in female graves were for defence reasons, whereas the male swords and daggers were for attack purposes. The author does, however, speculate about the possibility that the women followed/helped the males in battles. Mestorf (1889:151) points out that not all women wore a dagger, and she wondered if the ones who did chose to participate with the men in warfare, or did they hunger for land? She uses a Roman source to claim that Germanic women at later times fought bravely along with their men. She includes Saxo and the Nordic sagas in the discussion about the female martial temperament. She argued that women who had a bellicose nature were in the minority, while most women found happiness within the family sphere. She argued that this was supported by the large number of rich graves including jewellery and tools. This debate had, however, been preceded by a debate about what artefacts/arte-fact combinations could be perceived as male or female (Hjørungdal 1994:143f). Subsequently, following this initial discussion of the role of daggers in female burials, the subject has been overlooked.

There are 69 female graves in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Schleswig-Holstein⁵³ (excluding Segeberg, Plön, Ostholstein, Pinneberg, Hamburg, Cuxhaven, Stormarn, Hszt Lauenberg, Counties) from Period II that include a dagger (to this there can be added 21 graves that can be dated to Middle Bronze Age or PIII) (see appendix 8). Only the daggers that are found in combination with secure female indicators, i.e. neck collars, neck-rings, belt plates, ankle-rings, bronze tubes, or with textile remains suggestive of female dress are counted. There are also other possible female graves with daggers, but they lack exclusively female artefacts (see the Aner and Kersten volumes).

One can see that the distribution of female graves with daggers is uneven throughout the regions (see figure 83): some regions, e.g. Gram district in Denmark, have a concentration of female graves with daggers (three clear cases⁵⁴ and some possible cases⁵⁵) belonging to Period II. Another example is in Thisted County, where there is a concentration of female graves with daggers in the south part of the county, with a concentration of five female graves with daggers⁵⁶; in this region there is also a continuation of the material into Period III. In other areas such as the islands of Falster or Lolland only one female grave contains a dagger, whereas in regions such as Scania and Ribe County all or the majority of daggers in female graves are dated to Period III.

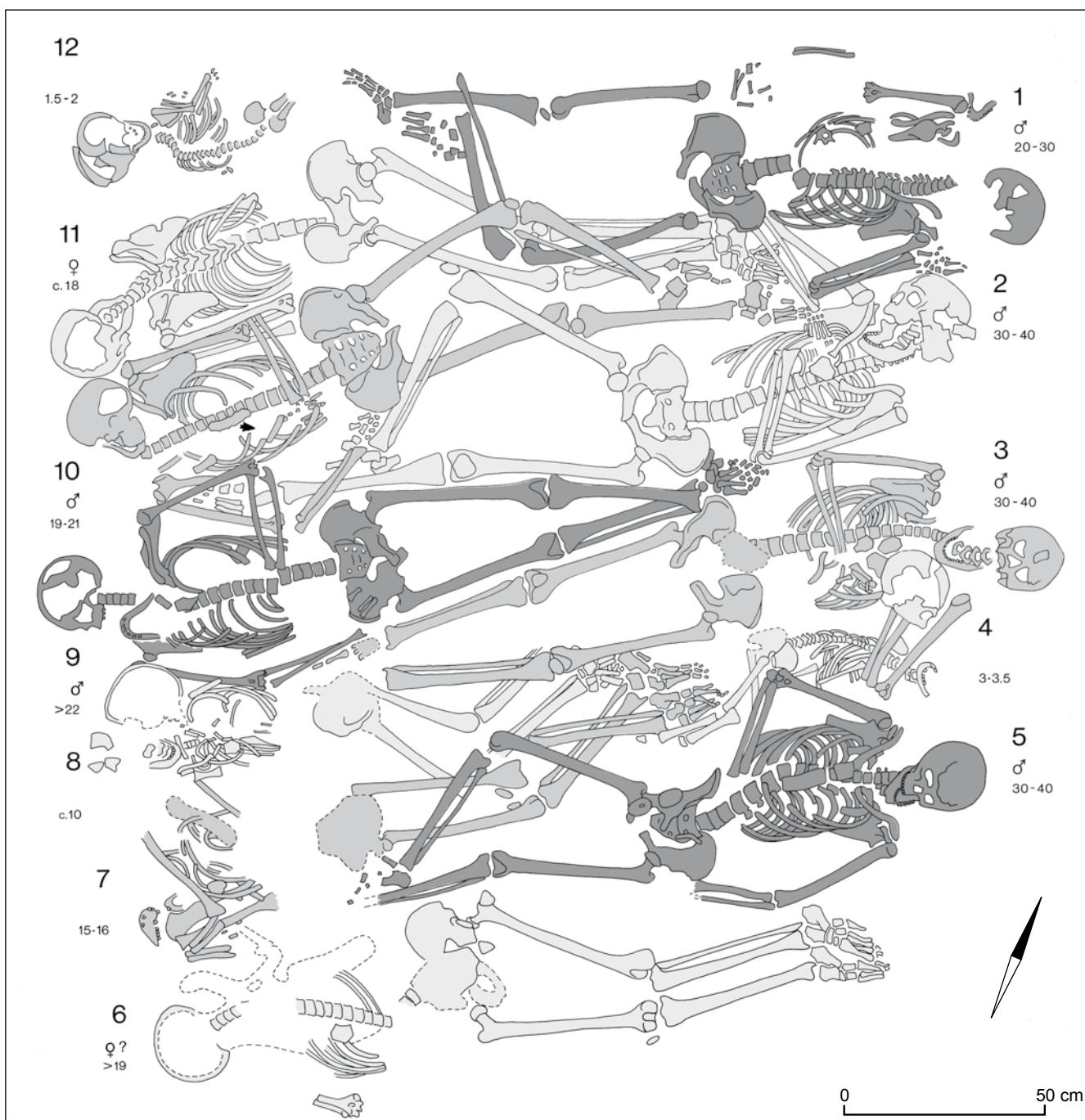
As shown above, one can see a correlation between the total number of graves with weapons and the

⁵³ Based on Aner and Kersten's volumes of *Die Funde der älteren Bronzezeit des nordischen Kreises in Dänemark, Schleswig-Holstein und Niedersachsen für Dänemark und Schleswig-Holstein*; for Scania it is based on Håkansson (1985) (catalogue) and Oldeberg (1974); for the northern part of Jutland the material is found in Broholm (1942), so there might be more graves lacking from northern Jutland than from the other areas.

⁵⁴ Ke3530A, Ke3521E, Ke3515B.

⁵⁵ For example the grave in Klovtoft (Ke3454) containing a dagger, a pin and two Lockenring.

⁵⁶ Ke4955C, Ke4993B, Ke5039A, Ke5268B, Ke5372.



number of female graves with weapons. This should indicate that females were more likely to be equipped with daggers in areas where conflict was more likely to arise. In the case of south-eastern Holstein it is evident that when the mixing of different cultural elements in the burials increased, the daggers disappeared from the female graves. As can be seen below there is clear evidence that women were killed in different kinds of violent acts, either during raids, massacres or battles, and men, women and children all suffered from the violence that could break out in society. With an understanding of this context, it is not so strange that the females might have needed daggers to defend themselves.

The male Bronze Age warrior ideal has been connected to the picture of the ideal warrior portrayed in

Homeric epics (see for example Treherne 1995). Vandkilde has looked at the aristocratic female ideal in the Iliad. She argues that the female ideal seen in the text is a woman who is a "peaceful, caring person who looked after the home during the frequent absences of her husband" (Vandkilde 2006b:232). She argues that the woman gets her identity from the *oikos*, the private domain where she, in contrast to her husband, spent all her time. This ideal is not so easily visible in the Southern Scandinavian material. The existence of wealthy female burials with daggers probably indicates that there is no such sharp boundary between the sexes where violence was concerned. Whereas the aristocratic women in the Iliad only watch the violent acts from a distance, from the palace or the towers of the citadels (Vandkilde 2006b:523), the daggers

Figure 85: Multiple burial from Wassenaar (published with the permission of Professor Leendert P. Louwe Kooijmans).

⁵⁷ Mound 5 Worsloh, Wardböhmen, Celle.

⁵⁸ According to Laux's typology this arm-ring type (B2) was also found in other female graves, for example in Steinbeck, Harburg (Laux catalogue nr 203).

in the south Scandinavian female burials indicate that women were in closer proximity to the violent acts, either using the dagger for ritual purposes to enhance luck in war, as suggested for some Viking Age female rituals by Price (2002: chapter 6), or actively using it to defend herself – or, for that matter having the dagger for both purposes. In the Alb group of the Tumulus culture there are female burials that have ankle-rings with a chain between them, limiting the movements of the woman (Wels-Weyrauch 1989a, see figure 84). This might indicate a female ideal closer to the one seen in the *Iliad*, where the women stay closer to the home and are less likely to suffer from violence (at least not at the hands of strangers). As shown in chapter 4 the female clothing may be seen, in contrast to that of the male, as having limited the ability to move about freely. It therefore seems more reasonable to side with Müller's view that the daggers found in female graves were used for defence purposes, rather than Mestorf's belief that some women actively participated in battles. The geographically uneven distribution of female daggers in the graves indicates that they are there for reasons other than ritual use. Unless they are used exclusively in rituals to enhance luck in warfare, then they were mainly needed in areas with warfare. If they were used for a 'common' ritual practice then these customs must have been very fluid between the different south Scandinavian areas at different times. It seems more reasonable to argue that they are there for defence purposes in insecure areas.

Evidence of warfare in northern Europe

The most secure evidence for violent death is in the analysis of skeletal material. In the skeletal material one can find signs of trauma, such as fractures, dislocation, post-traumatic deformity and miscellaneous traumatic conditions. Not all of these trauma signs are weapon related. Different weapons leave different kinds of traces, but not all violent deaths leave marks on the skeleton (Kjellström 2005:31ff). Some of the skeletal evidence of violent death found in northern Europe will be presented and discussed below.

Human bone material from the Nordic Bronze Age is scarce. Despite this, there are specimens of human bone with clear traces of brutality in the Middle Nordic Bronze Age (1600–1100 BC). One example of this is the Period IB Valsømagle type spearhead tip found at Over-Vindinge, Præstø County, Denmark which had been inflicted from behind and was still in situ in the lower back (Vandkilde 1996:232, 2000:42f, see figure 86). Fyllingen (2002, 2003 & 2006) has analysed bones from a mass burial in Norway dating to c. 1400 BC. This multiple grave contained between 22–30+ individ-

uals of whom about half were children. In both sexes and all age groups there is evidence of trauma, both healed and unhealed, as well as health problems relating to stress. The skeletal material indicated that the individuals had been assaulted at close range and that the wounds had been inflicted by either a sword, an axe or a thrusting spear. A skeleton of a mature/elderly male has been found in Kråkerøy, Østfold, Norway, and it has been dated to 1105 ± 165 cal BC. Examinations of the skeleton showed that the most likely cause of death was by a blow of a sword (Fyllingen 2002:45, Holck 1987:37ff). These cases, and more, demonstrate that the Middle Nordic Bronze Age society included an element of risk and violence for at least some of its inhabitants.

A Middle Bronze Age grave found in Søborg, Holbo, Fredriksborg contains: a bronze dagger, a flint strike-a-light, pyrite, and 10 flint arrowheads and one arrow-like flake. The exact placement of the arrowheads is unclear, except for the ones that were situated on the throat or lower face. The tooth enamel indicates an age of no more than 30 years (010110-42 Det Kulturhistoriske Centralregister). It seems likely that the arrowhead found in the throat area had been used to kill the individual.

In Lower Saxony there is a grave of a possible female⁵⁷ who might have been killed by an arrowhead. The excavator, Hans Piesker, views it as a grave of a male who wore a neck-ring. He argues that the type of arm-ring⁵⁸ and the arrowhead belong to the male sphere, and therefore it is a unique male, wearing a neck-ring (Private archive of Piesker in Herr Dr F. Laux's possession). Bergmann partly agrees with this interpretation, and determined the grave to 'a male?' (Bergmann 1970: A List 2:66). Laux, however, has designated the same grave as that of a female (Laux 1971:114f). I agree with Laux that it is most probably a female burial. The earlier determination as a male grave is probably based on the nineteenth-century ideal of "the needle-working woman" (see Hjørungdal 1994). On the basis of the excavation plan (Private archive of Piesker in Herr Dr F. Laux's possession), however, it is hard to decide if the arrowhead was a grave gift or the cause of death. It is found in the area of the waist close to the hand, but the exact position is difficult to determine with certainty. It seems most likely that it was indeed the cause of death, since in the Lüneburg culture – with the exception of this case – weapons are unknown in female graves. If we look at the biological anthropological data for Bronze Age Europe there are other females whose cause of death was most probably due to violent conflict.

Taking a broader look at Europe generally, there are numerous cases of violent deaths during the Middle Bronze Age. One example of this may be seen in West Littleton Down, Tormarton, Gloucestershire, England, where four to five men were

found in a pit, one with a bronze spearhead embedded in the vertebrae and an arrowhead embedded in the hip in a way similar to the Over-Vindinge case, as well as evidence of a blow to the head (Osgood 2000:21f). Another example is the multiple burial in Wassenaar, Holland, which contains the remains of 12 individuals: children, women, and male (see figure 85). Despite the poor preservation of the bones at least four individuals could be shown to have died in acts of violence. Three of the individuals had cutting blows and one person had an arrowhead embedded between his ribs (Louwe Kooijmans 1993, Smits & Maats 1993). Other examples from the Late Bronze Age are found, for example, in Lower Austria, where there exists a multiple grave in a former storage pit in Wallburg von Stillfried an der March, an Urnfield culture settlement with a surrounding wall. The pit contained the remains of one male, two females and four children. Instead of the common burial practice of the time (Late Bronze Age), cremation, they had been placed in the pit as an inhumation. Lochner discusses the find in terms of sacrifice or possibly a "Palatsrevolution". In the later Urnfield period there is one more multiple grave containing 15 individuals in a separate pit at the settlement (Lochner 1994:216ff). In my opinion the storage pit containing seven persons does not look like the remains of a sacrifice; the bodies have not been treated in a way that would indicate this. Instead, they look like they have been thrown into the pit, which is more like a Palatsrevolution or the remains from an ambush or a raid. The lack of skeletal evidence indicating how they died is a problem, since the cause of death could help in the interpretation of the find. Lower Austria, however, has incontrovertible remains of violent deaths. For example, the cranium of a young girl displayed evidence of having been struck by a blunt weapon, causing her death (Lochner 1994:218f).

According to Keeley (1996:65) raids and ambushes were the most common methods of attack in 'primitive' warfare. Characteristic for these types of warfare is that only a few people were killed at a time, but that all types of people were killed indiscriminately: children, women, and men. The victims were often taken by surprise, and were therefore frequently unarmed, and their wounds were often inflicted in the process of fleeing. Keeley claims that there is a gradual shift in scale of this type of warfare, from small raids to massacres (Keeley 1996:66f). Despite the lack of skeletal evidence in the Scandinavian material there are traces of this kind of violence. The Over-Vindinge example could indicate that the deceased had died while trying to flee from a raid. Similarly, the multiple burial in Sund, where children, women and men were found together, could be seen as another example of raiding.

There seem to be few examples in the skeletal material of the kind of warfare Treherne envisions (see

above). Of course this could be because sword blows from a fair fight leave few traces in the skeletal material. The only evidence for this kind of warfare (personal combat) might be seen mainly on the ritually deposited weaponry in e.g. bogs. This could be an indication that this kind of fighting was mainly performed within the male ritual sphere and the violence people were subjected to in their everyday lives was that of raiding and ambushing. One could argue that the remains of the man from Kråkerøy (Fyllingen 2002:45) should be the result of ritual

combat in the male sphere, but if the killing had followed ritual combat rules it is unlikely to have been deposited in such a way. Holck (1987:37ff) interprets it as a person who has been sacrificed accompanied by an animal which was found nearby.

An interesting aspect of the mass burials is the varying ways in which the deceased were disposed of. In the Wassenaar example the dead were neatly buried, probably according to sex and age. They were placed parallel to each other, with the children and youngsters on their sides, women with their heads facing down, and men on their backs (Louwe Kooijmans 1993). This could indicate many things: that they had been killed for ritual purposes, or that their attackers took what they wanted and then left, or that their rescue came too late (but in time to bury the deceased). The English example of Tormarton, where four to five men were killed and thrown into a ditch which then was backfilled in a single phase, has been interpreted by Osgood (2002:21f, 2006:336) as the killing of some men who were in the process of trying to change the landscape when they were killed. The killers then tossed the bodies in the ditch and backfilled it. This seems like an ambush on a few people while they were working on a task that may have displeased the killers. The killing put an end to the task. The Wallburg von Stillfried an der March case, where people were thrown into a storage pit, also seems to be the result of an ambush or a raid, possibly the taking over of a landscape/settlement. The attacker disposed of the bodies in the easiest way possible after the killing was completed. Another example of dumping human remains after a possible attack during the Middle Bronze Age is observed in Velim, district of Kolín, in the Czech Republic. Here bones from children, women, and men are found in a series of large pits. Some of the skeletal material was complete and articulated, while other re-

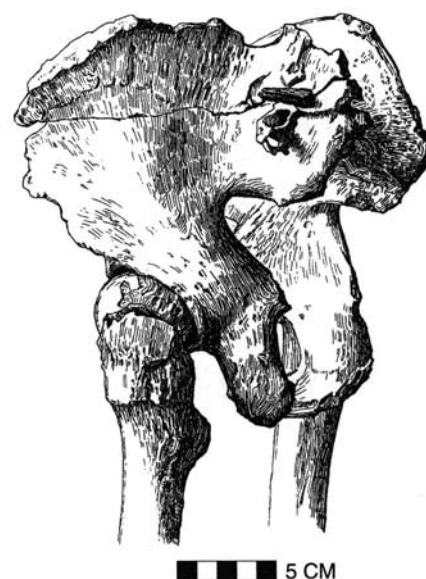


Figure 86: The tip of a spearhead in Over-Vindinge, Præstø county, Denmark (from Vandkilde 2000:43, figure 21).

mains were only scattered or incomplete, and some bones even bore cutmarks (Harding 1999:58). This also seems like an example of a Bronze Age raiding culture, albeit perhaps on a larger scale.

Why did people in the anthropological record raid? There are many reasons: some of the raids were for revenge, to gain slaves, to capture women (who would gain different social positions), and to obtain wealth or food (Keeley 1996:86,114f). In the archaeological material there is evidence that the Bronze Age might have been a time with at least sporadic bad nutrition. Fylling (2002) shows that during the Middle Bronze Age in Norway there are skeletal changes/illness that can be related to a lack of nutrition. It has been shown that on Funen during Period IV there was a general lack of nutrition, but also periods of famine. This could be read from the Harris lines on some of the bodies in Period IV graves in the Late Bronze Age mound Lusehøj (Kühl 1985:139). Health parameters in a cemetery in Slovakia (Jelšovce) changed over time, and Schultz, Schmidt-Schultz and Kreutz (1998) have shown that the deficiency diseases seen in the children's graves from the Únětice period were more common than in the earlier Nitra period. The most common diseases were anaemia, scorbutus (scurvy), and rachitis (rickets). Whether the difference in the health of children is related to a changed view on children (and their access to food) or if it shows a general nutrition problem is hard to say without a similar study relating to adults. It could, however, indicate an impetus for raiding that was sustenance motivated. If the main purpose for raiding was to capture a woman or to gain slaves it is hard to find reliable proof for this in the archaeological record; on the other hand, raiding to gain access to food seems like a strong possibility, and a food shortage leading to starvation conditions would have had physical ramifications that may at times be seen in the skeletal record.

Concluding discussion

Osgood (1998:91) argues that during the Middle Bronze Age (tumulus culture) people were fighting, man against man, in hand-to-hand combat and possibly in small-scale raids, while during the Urnfield culture they were more likely to employ static defences or engage in raiding. He argues that the fighting technique changed in northern and western Europe during the Bronze Age, and that the bow and arrow was the dominant weapon for killing, whereas thrusting spears were used for most killings in the later periods. He bases this idea on some skeletal evidence of violent death from England, Holland and Denmark (Osgood 2000:22).

In Harding's view (2000:chapter 8) many things suggest a heroic era similar to the one in Greece

during the European Bronze Age, but there are significant differences between the two regions. For Bronze Age Europe he argues for small-scale warfare and raiding by small parties. Harding also argues for a probable increase in the military organisation over the period, and points out that in the Bronze Age weapons with the sole purpose of killing humans (the sword) were first invented. The first swords are relatively long and thin, and according to Harding were only suited for thrusting blows. The stouter blade and stronger hilt attachment that developed were used for cut- and thrust fighting. At the end of the Early Bronze Age spears came into use in the region. The Scandinavian long spearheads appear with the Valsømagle horizon (c. 1600 BC), although this type of spearhead was not used until the Late Bronze Age in Central Europe. The author claims that the difference between a small spearhead and a long spearhead is their use. The small ones were suitable for throwing/hurling and the longer (heavier) ones were better suited for thrusting, i.e. the fighting range changed according to the type of spear one had. The smaller spearheads allowed for a longer distance between the combatants, or the attacker and the attacked, than the longer spearheads, which indicate close distance between the people involved. Harding argues that warfare was the hallmark of the Bronze Age.

The raids and killing that, for example, can be seen in Sund and Wassenaar indicate that Bronze Age society and its networks had a fragile structure. If, as Kristiansen (1999a) suggests, travel and the knowledge of faraway places were important, it must have been a risky business travelling in Europe in this militaristic climate, which may be characterised by its raiding and ambushing culture. One needed to know what routes to take and who to trust along the way, while also being on the constant look out for attackers, knowing that one's allies may no longer exist. Keeley (1996:122ff) points out that intermarriage and trade do not in any way exclude warfare, as groups that trade and intermarry can periodically be at war with each other. He argues that failure in trade and reciprocity can quickly escalate to warfare. Another ethnographic reason to engage in warfare is when one social group has a monopoly of some important resources, such as quality flint and mineral salt, etc. A marriage alliance gone bad is also a common reason for warfare, which could happen if a promised bride failed to materialize or if a dowry or a bride-price had to be refunded. He argues that trade and warfare can have the same result, and we have a tendency to interpret exotic objects as products of trade and hardly ever as spoils of war. Keeley goes on to argue that for "high-volume exotic items with an everyday use, like pottery ... these assumptions are

probably usually correct. But for rarer items, especially those that might have prestige value, or the bones of domestic livestock, archaeologists should at least consider the possibility that they represent plunder" (Keeley 1996:126).

Randsborg argues that the Middle Bronze Age burials that were plundered during the Middle Bronze Age were done so not to gain metal, but to humiliate and re-kill the deceased (Randsborg 1998:116). He argues that it was only powerful male burials that were plundered, based on the four plundered oak-log coffin graves (Randsborg 1998:115ff), but it is worth noting that if a female grave was robbed of its neck-collar and belt plate it would be hard to recognise it as female burial. Based on what he sees as removed from the burials, Randsborg concludes that "highly important and symbolic significant items were deliberately removed from the graves" (Randsborg 1998:117). It is always difficult to know what has been taken out of a plundered grave as, by definition, it is no longer there – Randsborg's conclusion is therefore highly dubious. Even if a sword sheath is found in the burial we cannot conclude that a sword has been removed, since we know for example that a sword sheath in the burial of the young man from Borum Eshøj contained a dagger. Clearly Randsborg's interpretation that the elite graves plundered around 1300 BC can be connected to a change of regime, i.e. a new elite was established by ritually killing the old ones (Randsborg 1998:122f) through the act of plundering their graves, rests upon very uncertain assumptions. However, he shows that most of the graves plundered in prehistory are found in southernmost Jutland (Randsborg 1998:116 fig 1), an area that demonstrates a strong presence of weapons in the burials during Period II, which decreases in Period III (see above). This might indicate that the plundering was connected to warfare/raids and possibly also a change of regime. However further studies are required before any positive conclusions can be drawn.

Perhaps the graves show an idealised view of Bronze Age warfare, but the other remains, such as multiple burials and the skeletal remains, produce a different picture. Arrowheads are sometimes seen in the graves as the weapon used to kill an individual, but this weapon is not common in the burial traditions in Period II. Maybe here we see the ideal meeting the reality? The ideal may well have been the one described by Treherne (1995), with men fighting men in honourable sword fights, as, for example, depicted in rock carvings. The reality seems to have been much more brutal with raids and the slaughter of men, women and children, young as well as old.

According to Hårde (2006:364) the normal burials from the Nitra culture contain many traces of trau-

ma on the skeletons. The left sides of some bodies display evidence of hack, slash and crush injuries. On top of this there are many healed so-called parry injuries, i.e. wounds that occur on the left arm when the arm is raised in order to dodge a blow to the head. This indicates that some individuals survived violent attacks.

Rock-art has often been drawn into the debate in discussions of Bronze Age warriors and the warrior ideal (see for example Osgood 2002:30ff). Nordbladh (1989) conducted an early influential study on this topic. He argued that spears, axes, and archery, i.e. bow and arrow, are more commonly seen in rock-art than in the burials. On rock art ships all weapons are depicted, but swords and axes predominate. He continues to point out that defensive armour, such as shields and helmets, also seem to be very important in depictions of warfare. The fighting scenes show just a few combatants; most often they are shown in pairs, although depictions with three fighters are also present (Nordbladh 1989:326f). One might argue that these are depictions of the ritual or correct way of fighting between two equals, showing the ideal for which Treherne has argued. It might be compared with later historical duels, a way for two equals to settle an argument or disagreement. The duel followed certain rules and rituals, and there were specific ways the challenge should be made and certain rules as to how the fight was conducted (Low 2003:5-18). This might very well be the ideal fighting that the deceased warriors wanted to refer to in their burial rituals. Nordbladh (1989:331) argues that the fighting depicted in rock-art is purely ritual, for if it had had a lethal outcome one of the combatants would have to have been portrayed in a dishonoured position. This need not be true if the status derived from the fighting itself rather than from the actual killing. Fighting with an equal and winning probably gave much more status/honour than fighting and killing a subordinate.

The skeletal remains in northern and western Bronze Age Europe show that there were other types of violence as well. One type does not seem to have been between two equals, but rather uneven attacks against different weaker groups. This can be seen in Sund, where it seems likely that a group of people attacked and killed a full community consisting of a few households. All types of weapons seem to have been used to kill people, and there are, as shown above, arrowheads and spearheads still in situ in the bones. Some of the latter show that the victim had been killed while fleeing, or had fallen on the ground facing downwards. Marks left on the bone after cutting blows are found on some of the skeletons, indicating that swords or other sharp weapons were used. The young girl from Austria who had her head bashed by a blunt weapon might

indicate that axes were also used as weapons for killing.

As shown in the discussion it seems that few Middle Bronze Age individuals were completely safe from the threat of violent actions. This does not mean that the society was at war all the time. At certain times some areas seem to have been subjected to massive conflicts, such as southern Holstein during Period II (see above), and these conflicts seem to have decreased during Period III and were replaced by an increase in intermarriage. Similarly, Gram County had a high percentage of weapons in the burials during Period II, which then decreased during Period III.

One thing that is difficult to explain is the difference observed in the male ideal between the Lüneburg Heath and southern Scandinavia. In the Lüneburg Heath the weapons that were likely to be used in raiding and ambushing are present in the graves: bow and arrows, axes and spearheads. The man to man fighting with swords that is seen, for example, in the rock art is completely missing from this area. Maybe the new fighting ideal took a longer time to become a part of the ideology on the Lüneburg Heath, and the most common ways of fighting were the ones that kept enhancing status and which could be seen as the ideal for 'maleness'. In southern Scandinavia the new warrior ideal of men fighting equals, which might possibly be traced as far as the Mediterranean, where women and children ideologically were not part of the violence, were seen in the burials, the votive depositions and the imagery. This ideal did not function in real life, however, where women, children and men still ran the risk of being victims and might suffer from brutal acts of violence. This is not to say that all people lived in constant fear during the Middle Bronze Age, but rather that violence was a real and inevitable fact of life that occurred at certain times and in certain places in this period as demonstrated in the archaeological record.

6. Ageing in the Bronze Age

It has been observed that while one learns about gender appropriate dress, one also learns about the rights and responsibilities to act as one looks (Eicher & Roach-Higgins 1992:19). With this in mind it is very important to add a life course theory to the discussion about dress and gender.

Age and archaeology

Lifecycle/course theory in archaeology started with an interest in the archaeology of children (Lillehammer 1989, 2000 Moore & Scott 1997, Sofaer Derevenski 1994, 1997 a+b & 2000b) and has since developed into an interest in the archaeology of the lifecycle/ life course, bringing in all stages of life (Gilchrist 2000a). Kamp (2000) has pointed out that the main view of children in archaeology has been seen from a modern western perception of childhood, which is essentially a medical one. She points out that both in traditional societies and in many historical periods children have been viewed from an entirely different perspective. The attitude toward the relationship between children and work is just one aspect that differs greatly from society to society.

Gilchrist (2000b:325) argues that archaeology has tended to be very static, with the normal focus on the prime of life, and we only tend to capture a single moment. According to Gilchrist, by analysing the whole human life course we can achieve a broader view of prehistoric societies.

Boivin (2000:374) argues that "the nature and quality of the lifecycle, like the cycle of the year, varies both between and within groups ... like the yearly cycle, the lifecycle is heterogeneous in quality, and (from a larger perspective at least) infinitely repetitive". She argues that different economic groups can have different life stages and different rituals. Sofaer Derevenski argues that we can study age both on a micro-scale, e.g. how objects are used to express changes in a person's life, and on a macro-scale, e.g. how a group responds to changes in the ageing process (Sofaer Derevenski 2000a:390). Here the focus will not be on the individual, but rather an attempt to see the overarching structure. However, the social construction will be interpreted based on the individual graves.

It is important to remember that roles and rules of the individual can change over the person's life course. Taking an anthropological approach,

Brown has shown that many women across the world get access to numerous new opportunities in life when their children grow up. For example, a woman might get the chance to travel, arrange marriages and trade (Brown 1982) at this stage of her life.

Based on her analysis of the treatment of infants in the Irish Neolithic and Early Bronze Age as well as historic times, Finlay argues that it is important to separate infants from the older children, as they often require special treatment (Finlay 2000:419). As this is not done in all anthropological reports it is sometimes hard to do in practice. However, as far as it is possible, the youngest children will be viewed separately from the older ones in this study.

People on the other extreme of the scale, the elderly, have also often been overlooked in archaeological interpretation. As observed by Welinder (2001:163), old age is also a cultural construction. He also argues that the chronological age and the biological age are not necessarily the same (Welinder 2001:164). "Anthropologists have observed that in traditional societies ageing women do not lose sta-

Figure 87: Two oak log coffins next to each other from Trindhøj, Vamdrup parish (from Aner & Kersten 1986:28 figure 18).

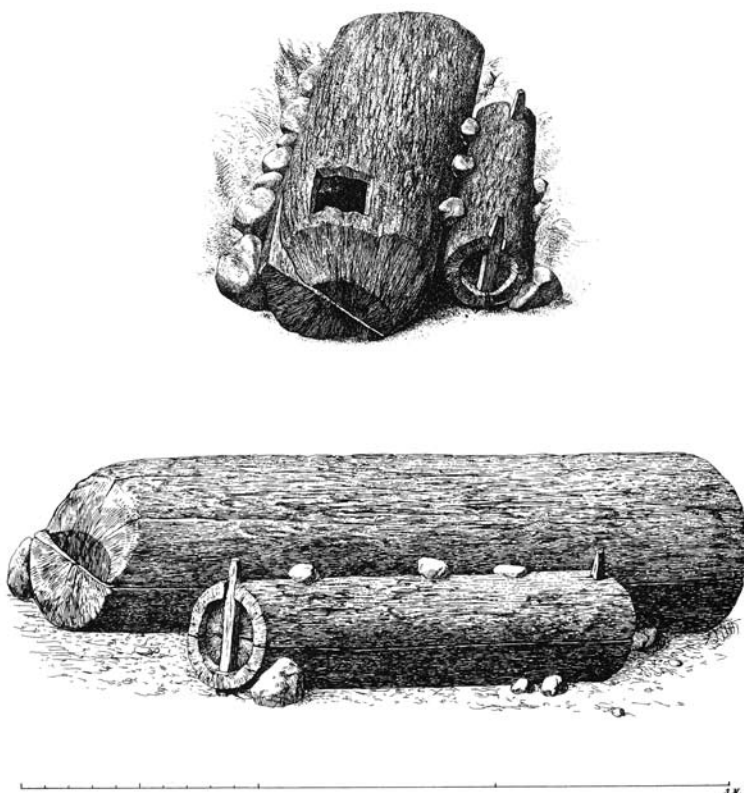




Figure 88: The parishes Löderup and Ingelstorp in Scania, Sweden.

tus as much as the ageing men" (Shahar 1997:150f). The reason for this has been debated, some arguing that to women old age is less disruptive while others assert that old age significantly changes a female's status (Shahar 1997:150f). What is viewed as 'old' varies from society to society. In the Middle Ages people were deemed 'old' when they had achieved the age of 60 or 70 (Shahar 1997:171).

Jennbert (1993) has argued that the mounds are memorial places constructed over different families. The idea is supported by the fact that many of the people placed in the central grave in a mound in Scania are youths around 15 years old. This argument, however, is rooted in our way of seeing age categories. I would argue that these persons in their mid teens were not seen as teenagers, but as full members of society. Sofaer Derevenski (2000a:401) has argued that one can question our modern categorisations, such as infant, child, adolescent, boy, girl, man, woman, adult and elderly in prehistoric studies. She argues that if we impose these categories on prehistory we not only "impose our own understanding of social identity, but we also impose our notions of time and how it was divided" (Sofaer Derevenski 2000a:401). Anglo-Saxon legal documents indicate that during the seventh century ten-year-olds could be seen as adults, whereas during the tenth century a twelve-year-old might achieve this status (Kamp 2000:4). This indicates that the view on who is or is not a child can vary even within a fairly short time frame.

One can argue that there are reasons to believe that during the Middle Bronze Age individuals could be regarded as full adults by at least the age of 15 years old. This can, for example, be detected in their burial in the centre of a new mound, e.g. the young female in Flintbek, Schleswig, whose attire was typical of the Ilmenau group, with a costume of the Lüneburg culture. She was consid-

ered old enough to travel a fairly long distance, and maybe even to be married (Bergerbrant 2005a, Zich 1992a:186). It has been shown in a cemetery in Lower Austria during the Early Bronze Age that from about the age of 14 the 'girls' wore the grown female costume (Neugebauer-Maresch & Neugebauer 1988:30), and this should indicate that they were seen as full adults. Sofaer Derevenski has shown in her study of a Copper Age cemetery that different artefact categories were not only added through the life time, but that they can also 'vanish' at certain ages. Objects can therefore be used to clearly show a distinct gendered age stage (Sofaer Derevenski 2000a:392ff). In the best of cases the artefacts can therefore help us to understand changes that people went through during their lives, not only those that added rights and responsibilities, but also those that mark the loss of some of these rights and responsibilities.

One problem with the material in this study is that so few skeletal remains have been preserved, and too few of these have been adequately examined by osteologists. Therefore a specialist study of age has been conducted based on the Scanian material, for which osteological analyses are accessible for 'larger' skeletal material. When literature on the Middle Bronze Age in south Scandinavia claims to record a child's grave this conclusion is normally inferred from the size of the stone-packing (normally surrounding the oak coffin). The stone-packing is generally considerably larger than the buried individual, usually ranging between 2.2 metres and 3.5 metres long. So when stone-packing that is just slightly larger than one metre is found, it is generally viewed as a grave for a child (see for example, the Aner and Kersten volumes). This method of identifying possible graves of children has also been applied to the North German/Danish Single Grave Culture (c. 2800-2350 BC). Out of the possible 62 children's graves discussed in Hübner, only 15 have either skeletal material or colouring in the ground representing the deceased. Using the size of the stone packing or cist is even more problematic during the Single Grave Culture, as there are many burials in a crouched position (Hübner 2005:29ff).

In all the volumes published so far by Aner and Kersten (1973-2005) only 55 children's graves are indexed. However, not all known remains of children are indexed. For example, the burnt bones from the eight to nine year old girl found in a leather bag in the Egtved (Ke 4357A) grave are not included in the index. Out of these 55 graves, five probably belong to the Late Neolithic and some of them are stone cists that contain more than one buried child. Out of the remaining 50 graves, 22 are interpreted as the grave of a child based on the size of the stone-packing, oak-log coffin (see figure 87) or colouring

of wooden coffin or body, and 28 have been determined by the remains of the skeleton, which often consists only of the remains of the teeth. Some of these children's graves which are determined by bone remains are found in mounds, but without any visible traces of coffins or stone cists. This type of burial seems to be most common on Zealand. Some of the inhumation graves of children, with skeletal remains, are burials where the deceased child has been placed in some kind of coffin placed within a simple stone-packing. These stone packing graves can be of a very large size, e.g. Hjordkjær, Rise, Åbenrå (Ke 3017C). However, in the Middle Bronze Age this grave may not have been viewed as a child's grave, but rather as a grave of a full member of society. It contained remains of teeth of an 8 to 12-year-old who seems to have worn a grown-up female costume (for further discussion see below). A Period IB grave in Nebel, Sødtonder, Amrum (Ke 2592G) also has a fairly long stone cist (2.9 m), and a Period II grave in Mikkelgård, Hørsholm, Lynge-Kronborg, Fredriksborg (Ke 211B) has a 3.15 m long stone cist. These last cases indicate that there is a likelihood that more children have been buried, but due to the preservation conditions they are overlooked in our analysis.

In the Scanian Late Neolithic graves we find skeletal material from young children, mainly from the age of five and upwards. In the same cemeteries there are few or no traces of such young children from the Middle Bronze Age. In the Late Bronze Age, however, the children reappear in the material, i.e. they are found in the graves again, such as at the cemeteries of Löderup and Ingelstorp (Strömberg 1975a, 1982). Why are the children missing in the Middle Bronze Age material? This question is examined in the section that follows.

Case study: south-eastern Scania

The following case study deals with the material excavated in Löderup and Ingelstorp by Märta Strömberg. This material has been chosen because it is well published and contains graves from the Late Neolithic to the end of the Late Bronze Age (Strömberg 1975a, 1982 & ATA). The focus here will be on the age distribution of the graves in the different periods.

In south-east Scania people were buried in megalithic tombs, stone-cists as well as flat graves during both the Late Neolithic and the Middle Bronze Age. It is unclear if any mounds were constructed in the area during the Late Neolithic (Strömberg 1984:49-63). It can sometimes be difficult to construct a finer chronology of the material from one cemetery. It is also difficult to draw a clear boundary between the

Late Neolithic and the Middle Bronze Age (Strömberg 1999:645). Burials with a radiocarbon date that indicates Period IA (1700-1600 BC) will here be treated as if they belonged to the Late Neolithic and graves belonging to Period IB, II, and III are regarded as from the Middle Bronze Age. Late Bronze Age relates to the Periods IV-VI.

The cemeteries studied here all come from an area in south-eastern Scania, in the parishes of Ingelstorp and Löderup (see figure 88). Some of the burial areas have graves from the Battle Axe culture (2700-2350 BC) while others have burials as late as the Viking Age (AD 800-1050). Only the ones that probably date to the Late Neolithic, Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age will be considered here. The burials have been determined to one of the periods on the basis of the artefacts in the burial, radiocarbon dates⁵⁹, stratigraphical details, the type of burial (e.g. stone-cists), and/or the position in the cemetery. The material discussed here is presented in appendices 9-11.

Strömberg uses Lomborg's chronology for flint daggers (Strömberg 1982:96ff). Based on the flint dagger typology Lomborg (1973: chapter III) divides the Late Neolithic into three phases LN A, LN B and LN C. This division has subsequently been questioned both by Madsen (1978:54ff) and Vandkilde (1996:13f). The latter authors argue that the division of flint daggers of type I and II into LN A and LN B is wrong, as they were mainly contemporary. The perceived difference is geographical rather than temporal. In using the older chronology Strömberg (1982:106f) sees a lack of early Late Neolithic (LN A) graves in the region. By using the chronological division suggested by Vandkilde (1996:13f), i.e. separating Late Neolithic into two phases LN I (keeping Lomborg's LN A and LN B) and LN II (Lomborg's LN C), we have the full time span in the region represented in the material, from the early Late Neolithic until the end of the Bronze Age.

In Scania we can see that there are clearly more buried individuals from the Late Neolithic than there were in the preceding Battle Axe culture, i.e. there are more people on average buried per year in the Late Neolithic (Edenmo 2000:31). This can al-

⁵⁹ Bone material from grave 46 in Ingelstorp 10:57 (Strömberg's burial area 2) has been sent in for radiocarbon dating (results pending). All other radiocarbon dates are from Märta Strömberg's old radiocarbon dating.

Period	average number of buried individuals per 100 years	average number of buried children per 100 years
Battle Axe culture	2.85	?
Late Neolithic	9.6	1.7
Middle Bronze Age	7.2	0.8
Late Bronze Age	24	3.16

Table 6.1. The average number of known burials from Ingelstorp and Löderup parishes per 100 years



Figure 89: Artefacts from grave 36C Löderup, Scania. Photo Märta Strömberg (from Strömberg 1975a:46 figure 30). a) dog tooth 3 cm long, b) disc-headed pin 15.3 cm long disc-head 8.8 cm diameter, c) pin c. 10 cm long.

so be seen in the area studied here. Ten graves can be dated to the Battle Axe culture and 55 (72 known individuals) to the Late Neolithic. Taking into consideration the length of the periods we still find a higher percentage of buried individuals. From the Middle Bronze Age there are 34 graves and 36 buried people, and for the Later Bronze Age this picture changes totally with 143 graves (144 individuals) in total. This shows that the number of buried people fluctuated over time (see table 6.1).

Few of the Middle Bronze Age burials can be viewed as being wealthy in terms of bronze artefacts, and the graves in the region that can be seen as wealthy in bronze derive from the nearby parish Valleberga (Strömberg 1975b). These burials therefore do not seem to belong to the top level of society, and we can see that at least some people had 'normal' burials. We can also see that these people were in contact with a wider world, as demonstrated for example in the Lüneburg disc-headed pin found in grave 36C in Löderup (see figure 89) and the bronze hooks of European type found in grave 43 Ingelstorp F4. It is therefore probably reasonable to view these burials as the remains of fairly ordi-

nary members of Middle Bronze Age Scanian society.

In the parish of Ingelstorp, Strömberg's cemeteries 1, 2, and 3 are found in close proximity to each other and the burials are all found within a c. 600 metre region. Seen together we can say that even though these cemeteries comprise graves from all the periods there are only a few Middle Bronze Age burials. Cemetery 4 seems to be slightly different in that we only have a few Late Neolithic burials, apparently reflecting an increase during the Middle Bronze Age preceding a later expansion during the Late Bronze Age. This pattern can also be seen in Löderup, where the cemetery at Löderup 15:4 has a fair number of Late Neolithic burials, but a limited number of Middle Bronze Age burials prior to expansion during the Late Bronze Age. The majority of Middle Bronze Age burials excavated by Strömberg in the parish are from the nearby cemetery Löderup 10:1. There seems to be a tendency during the Middle Bronze Age for the burials that are rich in bronze objects to be in areas other than the traditional Late Neolithic cemetery, but some people continue to be buried in these 'older' cemeteries and they go back into general use again during the Late Bronze Age.

Individuals determined as under the age of twelve or who have only been designated with the label 'child' are counted as children in this study. This is because, as shown below, persons who have turned 14 seem to have been treated as adults, and it is hard to say at exactly what age this transition occurs. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, individuals who are determined to twelve or older, or who are designated as teenagers and adolescents, are viewed as grown ups. During the Late Neolithic 13 children were buried, while in the Middle Bronze Age only four children were interred. It is generally more common during the Late Neolithic that more than one person is buried in a 'grave', which may be either a stone-cist or a flat grave. However, during both phases, children were interred with adults. In total 19 individuals have been determined as children from the Late Bronze Age. As shown in table 6.1 the number of children buried during the different periods fluctuated. In the Late Bronze Age there is a clear increase in child visibility. All children, except one infant, have been buried in their own grave during the Late Bronze Age. There are three children that have been determined as infants. During the Late Neolithic and Middle Bronze Age children seem to appear in the material from about the age of six, whereas in the Late Bronze Age even younger children are visible.

Most of the Late Neolithic individuals are determined within the age span adolescent-adult (33) and only five are seen as mature, while just one woman is determined to senilis.⁶⁰ Most individuals there-



Figure 90: Some of the artefacts from grave 11, Ingelstorp F4. Photo Märta Strömberg (from Strömberg 1982:126 figure 86). Razor 7.6 cm long, double button 1.6 cm diameter, tweezers 2.5 cm long.

fore fall within the age group comprising young and adult persons. Due to the fact that not all burials had preserved skeletal material good enough for ageing, and the fact that many graves contain more than one deceased person, it is difficult to associate any of the artefacts to a particular age. Of the 18 age-determined Middle Bronze Age individuals the majority are adult (10), while only two are adolescent and two are mature/senile. Age cannot be seen as an important factor for the quantity of grave goods someone was buried with, but there does seem to be a general tendency that one should be over 20 before one was buried in this way, even if there are exceptions to this rule. Of the 114 Late Bronze Age burials that have been age determined we have a broad age range comprising people from infant to about 60 years old. There are no clear age differences in the quantity of bronze that accompanied the deceased in the grave, although the grave with most bronze objects belonged to a man who was determined to about 60 years old; however, even small children were sometimes buried with bronze objects. There seems to be no loss of status as one grew old, but it is difficult to say whether age was an important factor in the increase or decrease of status as seen through the bronze objects.

In Löderup 15:4 it is evident that during the Late Bronze Age most of the seven children's graves⁶¹ were placed in the south-eastern corner of the cemetery, even though there are some exceptions to this, such as grave 26 and grave 3. This pattern can also be seen in the late Neolithic where all but two of the children's burials are within a limited area of the cemetery. The two Middle Bronze Age children are buried within the same complex of burials

(grave 36 A&B). The eight Late Bronze Age graves that contain probable young individuals are spread over the cemetery. The five individuals buried during the Late Bronze Age who were determined to middle age, and the one determined to older, are also fairly evenly spread over the cemetery. Three Late Bronze Age cemeteries in Schleswig-Holstein (Panten-Mannhagen, Kr Herzogtum Lauenburg; Sirksfelde, Kr Herzogtum Lauenburg and Neumünster-Falderaschule, Stadt Neumünster) had an area in the burial ground where many children's graves were concentrated (Schmidt 1993:134, Siemoneit 1996:347).

There are other structures that also appear to have extended over time in the area. Flint daggers are only seen during the Late Neolithic in Ingelstorp, and in the Middle Bronze Age all the bronze daggers found are from this parish. One sword is, however, from Löderup (Löderup 10:1 grave III) and dates to the Middle Bronze Age. It is first during the Late Bronze Age that swords and miniature swords are found in both parishes. On the other hand, flint strike-a-lights are common in Löderup during the Late Neolithic, but only one is found in one grave in Ingelstorp; this structure can only be regarded as a weak tendency in the Middle Bronze Age. However, in the Late Bronze Age there are no burials in Ingelstorp with a flint strike-a-light, and just a few in Löderup, which strengthens the connection between Löderup and flint-strike-a-lights. Slate slabs are used in the buildings of the graves in Löderup during both the Middle and Late Bronze Age whereas other types of stones are used as slabs in Ingelstorp (Strömberg 1975a, 1982). Despite the close proximity of the cemeteries there seem to

⁶⁰ This grave, Ingelstorp F2 burial 41, cannot be dated to anything closer than Late Neolithic-Middle Bronze Age.

⁶¹ The individuals in the graves are aged as children (grave 3 & 60), or probable or possible children (grave VIII, 16, 20 & 21) and as child or teenager (grave 26).

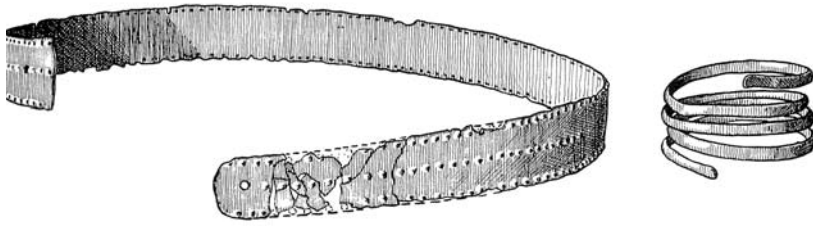


Figure 91: Artefacts from grave 4 mound II, Abbekås, Scania. The 'diadem' is 36–40 cm long and 1.8 cm wide, and the arm-ring has a diameter of 4.1 cm (from Hansen 1938:78, figure 44).

be local traits when it comes to the use and choice of material culture. However, in terms of perceptions and treatment of the different age categories the cemeteries seem to follow the same basic structure.

In this study it has emerged that during the Late Neolithic a large majority of the buried individuals were either young adults or adolescents, and some children were also buried; people on the other end of the scale are rare. During the Middle Bronze age a change occurs and the buried individuals seem to be mainly grown ups in their prime, although there are also graves of a few children, adolescents and older people. This pattern changes again in the Late Bronze Age, when the full society is represented in the burials, from infants to elderly people, although the majority would have been regarded as adults. It seems peculiar that in none of these periods is 'everyone' in society buried, i.e. the burial patterns do not follow a 'normal' demographic curve. However, at least in the Late Bronze Age, all age groups are represented in the cemeteries.

It is clear that fewer people received visible burials during the Middle Bronze Age than in both the Late Neolithic and the Late Bronze Age. This exclusivity seems to be age related, and the people who were most likely to receive a burial in a coffin, either under flat ground or in a mound, seem to be those in their prime of life.

The human life course in southern Scandinavia

Welinder (1998:192) argues that among cattle-herders children are seen as useful from an early age, as they can watch over the herds. He continues that the presence of children's burials might have a connection to their participation in the society's different tasks. The Middle Scandinavian Bronze Age has often been interpreted as a culture where a male's status is connected to the size of his herd of cattle (Jensen, J. 1982:143). If in the Middle Bronze Age cattle were important and were watched over by children, then one might postulate that there should be many children's graves from the period. This, however, as shown above, is not the case.

Folke Hansen's (1938, ATA) excavations at Ab-

bekås, Scania, are one of few examples where there are claimed to be children's graves from the Middle Bronze Age. If we look more closely at the graves, however, it seems that based on the material and for stratigraphical reasons the graves actually belong to the Late Neolithic sphere or the earliest part of the Bronze Age. Abbekås mound nr II grave 2⁶² contains a burial of a young person who has been determined to be around 8⁶³ years old. The grave contains one unusual find for a Swedish context: a 'diadem' in bronze (see figure 91, 92). The thin bronze sheet had probably been sewn onto a headdress made of cloth. To my knowledge this find is unique in Sweden. There is another 'diadem' in a stone cist on Zealand, Søsum, Stenløse, Ølstykke, Frederiksborg (Ke 280, Forssander 1936:103, Lomborg 1973:147, Vandkilde 1996:217f cat. nr 622). While this artefact type is unusual in Scandinavia, it is not unusual in Central Europe, and examples exist in Alburger Hochweg, Straubinge, Bavaria (Hundt 1958:28f, Tafel 15:30–31), Franzhausen, Lower Austria (Neugebauer-Maresch & Neugebauer 1988:29ff) and can occasionally be found in graves from the Lüneburg culture (Laux 1971:39).

Grave 2 has been dated by Forssander (1936:209f) to somewhere between the Late Neolithic and Period II of the Bronze Age. Forssander argues that the grave type belonged to the Late Neolithic (*steinkistenzeitliche*), but that the artefacts were of a different kind; however, this broad dating seems incorrect. The 'diadem' artefact type generally belongs to the Early Bronze Age in a Central European context, which ends c. 1600 BC, and on Vandkilde's (1996) re-dating of the start of Period IB in the Scandinavian Bronze Age is 1600 BC. In my view the grave belongs to the Late Neolithic or Period I sphere, even if the Lüneburg examples belong to Period II. However, they only appear to have been used by adults (Laux 1971:39 + catalogue). The 'diadem' from Søsum has been dated to Period IA in correlation with the other artefacts found in the stone cist (Vandkilde 1996:217f). Lomborg (1973:147f) dates it to the final Central European Bronze Age which, with Vandkilde's chronology, fits well with a Period IA date. Both the Søsum and the Abbekås 'diadems' are embossed, and in Central Europe 'diadems' with pointboss (German: *Punktbockel*) ornamentation date to either the end of the Early Bronze Age or to the transition to the Middle Bronze Age according to Hundt (Krause 1988:91).

Stratigraphically the grave is placed in a pit under the ground surface of the mound (see figure 93). Graves 5 and 10 are also buried beneath the surface of the ground, and grave 10 is only partly covered by the mound. The grave that the mound seems to have been built over is grave 1, a grave that is dated to Period II (Hansen 1938:72–80). This indi-

cates that the mounds at Abbekås, like the mounds in Löderup and Ingelstorp, are a continuation of a Late Neolithic flat ground cemetery. The grave also contains a spiral arm-ring, an artefact category that Sofaer Derevenski (2000a:398) has argued for the Tiszapolgár phase of the site of Tiszapolgár-Basatanya, Hungary, to be common in children's graves. One reason for this is that the arm-ring type could be adjusted and could therefore accommodate the growth of the children. The grave is unusual in a Swedish Late Neolithic perspective not only because of its unique artefact type, but because it has clothing/costume-related bronze artefacts. In the Late Neolithic there seem to be few clothing-related bronze objects. Some bronze rings, often ear-rings or at least ornaments connected to headgear, and a few beads, generally amber or from animal teeth, are found in the graves. The rings are not always placed on the buried person(s). Sometimes it seems more like a sacrifice than a personal object, for example Ingelstorp F1 grave 3, a grave that was divided into different compartments and above each part a gold ring had been placed on stone foundations (Strömberg 1982:75). As shown in chapter 3 very few graves contain Period I artefacts in this area. It therefore appears that the Neolithic traditions lived on longer in Scania than in, for example, Zealand.

The graves that have clothing-related bronze artefacts in Scania from the Late Neolithic and Period I seem to be the ones with imported objects. An example of this is grave 2 from mound II in Abbekås (see above).

There are ten⁶⁴ graves with 'diadems' or possible 'diadems' in the Lüneburg culture. None of them belong to Laux's first time group (Zeitgruppe I) (Laux 1971:114ff Table 11-12). If the chronology of Laux's different time groups is correct it is hard to see that the Lüneburg culture 'diadems' are a direct follower from the Central and south-eastern European Early Bronze Age ones, as has previously been suggested (Laux 1971:39). According to Bergmann all the graves with 'diadems' belong to Period II (Bergmann 1970:A80-89). Most of these graves are well-equipped. None of them has as few objects as the Abbekås grave. All except possibly one (Laux 1971: 58Q III) seem to be adult graves. To these graves the Period II grave from Smidstrup Hovgård, Skibinge, Bårse, Præstø (Ke 1264A) can be added, a grave of an individual who most likely originally came from the Lüneburg Heath. This grave has been compared with grave II from mound 7 in Wardböhmen (Lomborg 1969:129ff), even though it is a much wealthier grave.

Mound II at Abbekås contains one more child's grave with a bronze object. Grave nr 5 contains a bronze pin of Únětice character and two finger rings. The child is aged to about 6 years old (For-

ssander 1936:210, Hansen 1938:75ff).⁶⁵ In southern Scania it seems like the majority of bronze objects from the Late Neolithic and Period I accompanied children rather than adults. This has been shown for the burials in Abbekås, but can also be seen in Löderup and Västra Virestad, Bösarp parish (Håkansson 1984, Hansen 1938, Rydbeck 1912, Strömberg 1975).

Some Scanian Middle Bronze Age mounds are placed on Late Neolithic cemeteries, for example Ingelstorp cemetery F2 and F4, Löderup and Valleberga (Strömberg 1975a & b, 1982). This can be seen in the case of Abbekås as well. If we take mound II as an example the mound seems to be built over a Period II grave that is covered by a smaller stone cairn. Below the former ground level there are a number of graves that must be earlier than the mound. Abbekås grave 10, mound II, is for example only covered by two-thirds of the mound. All the graves that have osteological remains of children in mound II are placed under the former ground level (Hansen 1938:72-80) and therefore are likely to belong to either Period I or the Late Neolithic.

In Skivarp parish bone remains of eight children were found during Folke Hansen's excavations during the 1920s (Hansen 1938). At least six of these can be dated to the Late Neolithic based on stratigraphy or associated material. Many of the children's burials in Knutsson's (1998) Masters thesis turn out to be Late Neolithic upon closer examination. This makes her statistics of the age determined graves in Håkansson's study (1984:192), the basis for Knutsson's analysis, irrelevant. Knutsson's 23% (Knutsson 1998:17ff) should be corrected to 7.8 % of the buried individuals where age is known were children from the Scanian Middle Bronze Age. Clearly this is below the percentage that would be expected for a 'prehistoric society' (Welinder 1998:186ff).

In Denmark there have been excavations of Neolithic mounds, which contain only children's graves. In Strandet Hovedgaard, Ørum, Fjends, Viborg sb nr 69 a mound belonging to the late Single Grave Culture held 20 graves of children. All the graves in the mound were child graves (Simonsen 2000). This mound is yet another example of orderly and structured children's graves in the Late Neolithic. As seen in the example of Skivarp parish children's graves seems to be placed in one mound or in one part of the cemetery. This can also be seen in a similar way in Löderup, where the flat graves of children were generally placed close to each other and within a smaller part of the cemetery. Some children were also placed in a stone-cist with other individuals.

Sometimes children in Middle Bronze Age mounds were accompanied by an adult. An example of this is the Egtved burial, where the cremated remains of a young girl 8-9 years old were placed

⁶² Or grave 4, depending on if one reads Hansen's excavation report or publication from 1938.

⁶³ Or a female aged to ten according to Hansen's 1938 publication (age 8 according to the report in ATA).

⁶⁴ Laux's catalogue nr 21B (mound 4 grave I & IIIa), 21G, 58A & H, 59B, 74A & 85A, Bergmann A List 7:89.

⁶⁵ Forssander writes that the child is 2-3 years old, but Hansen claims it is around 6 years old. There is another grave (grave 7) that contains a child who was 2-3 years of age.

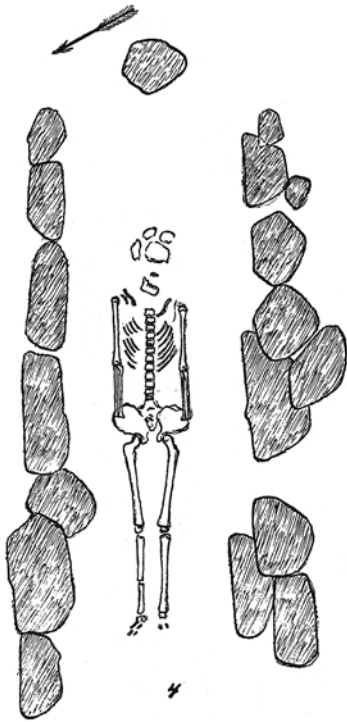


Figure 92: Pan of grave 2 (4) in mound II, Abbekås, Scania (from Hansen 1938:76, figure 42). Scale unknown.

in a leather bag which was positioned in the waist area of a 16-18 year old female inhumation (Thomsen 1929:197). In this case it seems unlikely that the child was buried in her own right. She seems rather to have been sacrificed and included as a companion for the deceased older female.

There are, to my knowledge, no finds of newborns or children under the age of one found in mounds dated to the Middle Bronze Age in southern Scandinavia. Likewise, newborn children appear to be generally absent from the cemeteries or known burial places during the Bronze Age in Europe, e.g. newborns are missing in the Mälär Valley, Sweden (Thedéen 2004:195). They are virtually absent from the Later Bronze Age cemeteries in Lower Saxony (Siemoneit 1996:356) and

Schleswig-Holstein (Schmidt 1993:130), although the odd example exists, and they are clearly under-represented in the Early Bronze Age in Lower Austria (Teschler-Nicola 1988:43). One can ask: how have these individuals been deposited? In Lustrupholm, Ribe Sankt Katharina, Ribe, Ribe a flat ground cremation cemetery has been ^{14}C dated to the Middle Bronze Age (1745-1130 BC) and contains 23 burials (24 individuals). Five of these were under one year old and one was probably a foetus or just newly born (Feveile & Bennike 2002). These people have been buried outside the traditional burial norm, i.e. inhumations placed under flat ground or in a barrow. This might indicate that newborn and small children under the age of one were not seen as full members of society and were therefore treated differently in death. This small cemetery might be the burial place for people who, for some reason, were not granted the normal treatment in death, maybe because of the way they died or for the way they lived. This can be compared with Finlay's interpretation of the historic and pre-historic burial places for infants (see above). There is another example of an infant from the Later Bronze Age having different treatment in death: an almost complete skeleton of an infant was found in a well in Langbjerggård 4, Brøndbyøster, Smørum, København, with Later Bronze Age ceramics (Berntsson 2005:220). If the remains belong to the Later Bronze Age then this might indicate that there were alternative ways of disposing of the remains of the youngest in society.

Finlay has pointed out that "the treatment of infants in death often mirrors that of other categories of individuals who are excluded from the usu-

al pattern of mortuary treatment and corpse disposal" (Finlay 2000:408). She also argues that these people might not have been seen as different in life, but that their death differed from the norm (Finlay 2000:409). We might be able to use this hypothesis to further analyse and interpret the south Scandinavian Bronze Age individuals buried in megaliths or stone cists. Maybe these were individuals whose death prohibited them from being buried according to the normal burial practice.

It is difficult to say if age is important for access and use of bronze artefacts during the Middle Bronze Age. The young adult buried in Egtved has only a few bronze objects with her in the grave, whereas the 50 to 60 year old woman from Borum Eshøj carried a large number of objects, and even in terms of weight her artefacts can be seen as considerable. Due to the lack of skeletal material it is hard to know if this is a general pattern or just a coincidence. The woman in mound 15 in Wittenberg, Bleckmar, has been determined to a young adult and the woman buried in grave II in mound 1 in Schaftsattlberg, Wardböhmen, both county Celle, are also adults (Molnar see appendix 12). Both women wore bronze-laden costumes, however the older woman (Schaftstallberg) wore one of the costumes with the most bronze objects from the entire area of study (see appendix 5 and chapter 4). It seems that age, even among adults, could have been an important factor. Women seem at least not to have lost in wealth and status when they grew old. For the males this is harder to claim. The older man found in the Borum Eshøj mound is buried without any bronze objects, whereas the opposite is true of the younger man (see chapter 4). The older man wears a cap, which by Kristiansen (1999b) has interpreted as a status symbol. A grave that is wealthy in bronze objects is Valleberga 6:7, where the man buried is interpreted as between 40-55 years old (Strömberg 1975b:35-42). If there is a relationship between age and wealth it is difficult to determine due to the lack of skeletal material. More detailed studies need to be conducted to reach a more conclusive interpretation. Indications exist, however, that there is a connection between some artefacts and the right to use them. Except for the above cases, Willroth has shown that the fibula is part of the adult female costume. He argues that fibulae are never found in young girls' graves, only in the graves of grown up females from southern Jutland and Schleswig-Holstein. The author does not discuss age as a part of his analysis of the objects in male graves; here he focuses mainly on the weapons (Willroth 1989:98).

In Schleswig-Holstein during the Late Bronze Age there generally seems to have been more females buried than males. Of the eight cemeteries investigated by Schmidt only two⁶⁶ had more

⁶⁶ Bad Oldesloe-Poggensee, Kr Storman and Neumünster-Falderaschule, Stadt Neumünster.

⁶⁷ Neumünster-Tungendorf, Stadt Neumünster.

⁶⁸ Börnsen, Kr Herzogtum Lauenburg (88 ind.); Panten-Manhagen, Kr Herzogtum Lauenburg (180 ind.); Schwarzenbek, Kr Herzogtum Lauenburg (60 ind.); Sirksfelde, Kr Herzogtum Lauenburg (121 ind.); Bad Oldesloe-Poggensee, Kr Storman (41 ind.); Neumünster-Falderaschule, Stadt Neumünster (63 ind.) and Bordesholm-Brautberg, Kr Rendsburg-Eckernförde (23 ind.) (Schmidt 1993:128).

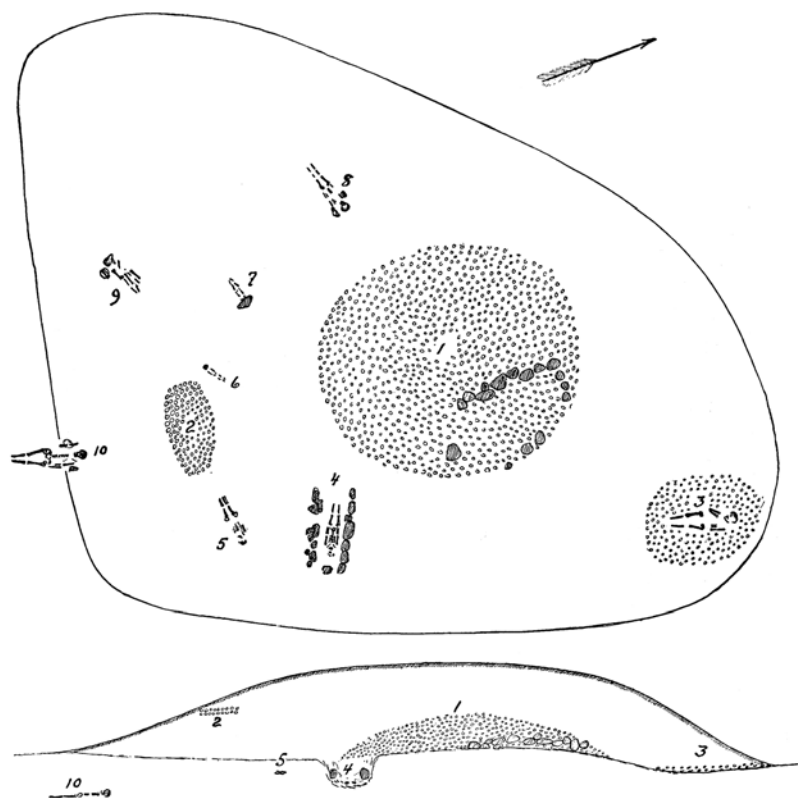
males buried than females, and the other six had more females than males. Two of them had considerably more females than males; Börnsen, Kr Herzogtum Lauenburg and Bordsesholm-Brautberg, Kr Rendsburg-Eckernförde (Schmidt 1993:130f).

Welinder argues that a case study in southern Halland, Sweden, shows for the Late Bronze Age that young men were buried, whereas young women were not. Women of reproductive age were buried with the highest number of artefacts and the number of objects diminished after menopause. For men the number of objects increased with old age, except that the very old were not buried. There were more women than men among the elders (Welinder 2001:173f).

In the 592 anthropologically examined Late Bronze Age graves in Schleswig-Holstein individuals determined to senilis are virtually missing. In only one⁶⁷ of the eight cemeteries⁶⁸ analysed by Schmidt is there senilis, and this occurs in only one of the 63 graves (1.6%). There are slightly more people determined to mature from the eight cemeteries, and their presence varies between 2.4 % to 25 % in the different burial grounds (Schmidt 1993:128f). In the Late Bronze Age in Schleswig-Holstein the sex of the mature people varies between the cemeteries. One cemetery with a large majority of buried males, Neumünster-Falderaschule, Stadt Neumünster, includes buried women who are mainly aged to mature, whereas none of the buried women were determined to juvenile or senile. In Bordsesholm-Brautberg, Kr Rendsburg-Eckernförde the majority of the deceased were women (Schmidt 1993:130f).

As shown above the complete society, with the exception, perhaps, of infants, has been buried during the Late Bronze Age, therefore a low percentage of deceased individuals determined to senilis might be an indication that few people actually reached this age. A change in the view on ageing might also have occurred, but a special study is required to reach a more conclusive interpretation.

As shown in the case study more children and people in general are buried in the Late Neolithic and the Late Bronze Age than in the Middle Bronze Age. This indicates that only certain categories were buried in an inhumation grave in a flat grave or under a barrow during the Middle Bronze Age. There are indications that infants and other groups of people were buried in different ways, perhaps cremated as indicated by the burials from Lustrupholm. There are also indications that age mattered during the Middle Bronze Age. Only a few children are visible in the grave material, and not all children seem to have had the right to be buried in a mound. There are also a few indications that one received the right to wear particular objects at certain ages, for example, one may have had to be 'grown up' to wear a fibula if you were a women



in Schleswig-Holstein, and there are suggestions that younger female adults were buried with fewer bronze artefacts than older females of the same status. The conclusion has to be that age mattered, perhaps more so during the Middle Bronze Age than during the Late Neolithic and Late Bronze Age.

To conclude, it appears that during the Middle Bronze Age in southern Scandinavia infants were treated differently in death than the rest of the population. Exactly how they were treated we do not know. From the age of five some children received treatment in death that was similar to that of adults. The transition to full adulthood seems to have occurred sometime between the ages of twelve and 15. Women seem to have gained and maintained their status throughout life, whereas the status of a male might have diminished in older age.

Figure 93: Plan and profile of mound II, Abbekås, Scania (from Hansen 1938:74, figure 40). Scale unknown.

Conclusions: Growing up and ageing in Bronze Age Europe

According to Siemoneit (1996:342ff) there are eleven children's graves from the Middle Bronze Age in Lower Saxony. Most of these are determined as children based on the placement and size of the artefacts in the grave, the size of the stone-packing, or the coffin. Siemoneit argues that the 'lack' of children in the burial material is because children did not have the right to be buried in a mound. There are 51 known children's graves from the Later Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in Lower Saxony, despite the fact that only three of the larger cem-

eteries from the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in Lower Saxony are anthropologically determined. Two or possibly three⁶⁹ infants are buried in the cemetery in Heidberg bei Liebenau, Ldkr. Nienburg, Lower Saxony, dating to the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. The total number of buried individuals is 22, and of these nine are under ten-years-old and four are under twelve-years-old (Siemoneit 1996:353). This means that this cemetery had 72.7% children buried there. In total of the 51 burials of children from the Later Bronze Age/Early Iron Age only five are under one year (Siemoneit 1996).

Of eleven children buried in Lower Saxony from the Middle Bronze Age, five come from graves containing adults. Two of them are cremated children buried with a female inhumation (Siemoneit 1996:357-360), and these seem to be buried in a similar way to the youngest girl in the Egtved grave. The other three are cremated and buried together with cremated adults. Of the eleven graves, six are attributed with the help of grave goods, and all received arm- or ankle-rings (Siemoneit 1996:357-360). Therefore it seems possible that the first metal object a child received was an arm-ring, which would have been an important landmark in the process of learning the rights and responsibilities of their future position in society. The treatment of children in Lower Saxony seems to be comparable to that in south Scandinavia. It is likely that the two societies had very similar fundamental social structures and views on children and ageing in general.

How does the picture from south-eastern Scania relate to the world around it? If we look at the material from Europe we can see, for example, that the cemetery at Franzhausen I, Lower Austria during the Early Bronze Age (2300-1600 BC) contains many children. 15.7% of the deceased are infants I (0-6) (Neugebauer 1994:20, Teschler-Nicola 1988:41). The average age for a female in the Early Bronze Age was 35 years and a few years more for the men (Teschler-Nicola 1994:169). It is hard to compare this with a Scandinavian population since there is so little material for such a study.

It can be shown for different areas in Europe that infants and neonates have been treated differently in death. Finlay, for example, shows that it is likely that Megalithic tombs were reused as burial places for infants in the Early Irish Bronze Age (Finlay 2000:217ff). In Lower Austria neonates and infants are underrepresented despite the quite high child mortality visible in the material (Teschler-Nicola 1994:169). Therefore we can say that it seems likely that very small children are treated differently from adults throughout a large part of Europe and over an extended period of time.

There seems to be a general rule in Europe that, at least in burial practices, one stopped being viewed as a child and was treated as an adult from about

the age of 14. This is true for southern Scandinavia, as has been shown above, and also holds true for Lower Saxony (Siemoneit 1996:353). For other European regions Ó Donnabháin and Brindley (1990:19) have shown that in the Irish Bronze Age individuals were buried in the same manner as adults and also received grave goods from the age of 14. They state that they were buried "...as individuals in their own right". The authors suggest that this might be a sign of a change in status from a dependent member of society to an active contributor. In the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Franzhausen I, Lower Austria, females wore the *Frauentracht* (the women's costume) from about the age of 14 (Neugebauer-Maresch & Neugebauer 1988:30).

Rega (1997) has studied an Early Bronze Age cemetery Mokrin, Banat region, in former Yugoslavia. It contained 312 graves and the analysis showed that children under the age of one were totally missing. According to Rega the age group of one to six had a realistic death rate; however, there was a greater number of individuals sexed as 'female'. This is something Rega connects with favouritism for girls. She suggests that maybe the boys, who generally have a higher death rate in this age group, might have had a higher death rate during infancy, i.e. up to the age of one, the burials that are missing from the cemetery. There also seems to be a surplus of individuals aged 30-40 years old, which she argues might be a result of general under-ageing of adults, as between the ages of one to 20 the numbers for a complete population are realistic.

Central European research on children's skeletons has shown that at least in some cases we can see deterioration in the general health of the population. Research done on 110 children's skeletons from a cemetery in Jelšovce, Slovakia, shows that both deficiency diseases, malnutrition, such as *Rachitis* and lack of vitamin C, and infection diseases, such as meningitis, increased between the Nitra (2200-1900 BC) and the Únětice Culture (1900-1700 BC). In other words, the children's general health decreased. Even the dental care diminished from Nitra to Únětice. However, neither of these factors had a significant impact on child mortality. There is a weak but positive indication of a higher life expectancy for the Nitra Culture up to the age of seven. After that the mortality expectancy of the different periods is more or less equal (Schultz, Schmidt-Schultz and Kreutz 1998). This might be an indication of a change in how children were perceived during the late early Central European Bronze Age. This tendency might also be seen in the later diminishing number of children's graves from the Late Stone Age to Period II in southern Scandinavia. There is no evidence that the climate deteriorated at this time to explain the difference in children's health. The decline in children's health hap-

⁶⁹ Grave nr 17 and 20 are determined to be aged between 0-1 and grave nr 9 between 0-3 years old.

⁷⁰ There are an assumed deterioration in the climate, partly seen on tree rings around 1628 BC (Baillie 1998)

pens before the assumed climatic deterioration of the Middle Bronze Age,⁷⁰ so the change should reflect a cultural change in the perspective on children. A similar study of the adults would be needed to make sure that the change was not one of general eating habits between the two periods. Some of these malnutrition problems in childhood might be reflected in the health of the adults as well. Maybe ¹³C analysis of teeth and bone from individuals who died as children and those who survived to an older age can help in elucidating these questions (Eriksson 2003). This might also help us to understand if there were differences in the nutrition between the children who died young and those who live on to adulthood.

There seems to have been a similar way to view and treat children in Central and northern Europe during the Early and Middle Bronze Age. There also seems to have been a generally accepted concept of when one became an adult, i.e. stopped being a dependent child and became a full member of society. It is difficult to discuss if perspectives on old age and the ageing process were similar too, due to the general lack of studies dealing with old age. For the Middle Ages Shahar (1995:147) has shown that for the farming population an individual's wealth might remain intact or even grow over the course of a lifetime, whereas merchants lost property and their wealth drastically diminished in their fifties. This was because farmers often kept control of their farm and livelihood into old age, unlike merchants. Perhaps the individuals during the Middle Bronze Age also kept control of the longhouse and the land and animals that went with it until their deaths, and in that way insured that their status was maintained and/or growing. More detailed studies are needed on this topic before firm conclusions can be put forward.

Welinder's (1998:192) suggestion that children/youth might earn status through herding, can possibly be seen in the burial traditions of the Late Neolithic in Löderup and Ingelstorp. However, it seems not to be present at all during the Middle Bronze Age. Perhaps cultivation and control of land and property were more important than livestock during the Middle Bronze Age, hence we get this change. Shahar's observation that farming populations keep their property intact into old age might explain the burial pattern vis-à-vis age that we see in the case study examples. Receiving a burial in a coffin either under flat ground or in a mound may have been connected in some way to control of land. With the larger changes that occurred between Middle and Late Bronze Age, both in society generally and in the burial traditions, more people and ages are included in the 'normal' burial practice.

To conclude, one can argue that during the Mid-

dle Bronze Age in Central and northern Europe only a few people received inhumation burials in a mound or under flat ground. Small infants and children up to the age of 5 seem to be missing from our burial record. It appears that a few individuals from about the age of five were treated in a similar manner to the adults. From at least the age of 14 one was seen as a full member of society. This was true even though it is more common that people over the age of 20 were buried with more bronze objects. There are weak indications that female status might grow over a lifetime, whereas there is a possibility that older men lost symbols, and possibly also status, as they aged. There are similarities with the preceding and the following phases, however neither of these seems to have a burial form as exclusive as that of the Middle Bronze Age inhumations.

7. Valued as exchange? Exchange, networks and movement

It has been shown in chapters 3, 4 and 6 that there are indications that people travelled in the Middle Bronze Age and therefore long distance contacts can be observed in the burial material. This can be seen in the so-called ‘foreign men and women’ as well as the artefacts that were made in areas other than where they were found. This is not to say that the raw material, i.e. copper and tin, most likely came to south Scandinavia from other areas. There is new research that indicates that copper may have been mined in parts of Scandinavia as well (Prescott 2006). The fact that travelling in Middle Bronze Age Europe could not have been an easy task has been shown in chapter 5, where it was argued that a certain degree of risk was always involved. The evidence for female and male travel and long distance contacts based on the ‘foreign’ artefacts found in burials will be discussed below, leading to a discussion about the social reasons for this movement. The chapter ends with a wider discussion regarding both male and female journeys and how they might have been conducted.

In the chapter a variety of evidence for movement during the Bronze Age will be presented, but it is in no way a comprehensive survey of all of the evidence available for journeys during the period, nor has any attempt been made to identify all the burials of foreign people in southern Scandinavian and northern Germany during the Middle Bronze Age, as this would be too big a task for this dissertation.

Women’s travels

The Bronze Age is often seen as a society that is based on alliances and gift exchange (for example Kristiansen 1998:85–98, Rowlands 1980). Women have been interpreted as an integral part of this exchange network, regarded as ‘the supreme gift’ (Lévi-Strauss 1969:65). The supposed foreign women, i.e. a woman buried in one area wearing the costume from another geographical area, have traditionally been interpreted by many archaeologists as women who have passively been moved in order to strengthen alliances (for example Kristiansen 1998:91f). This interpretation is based on the anthropological work of Mauss (1969) and Lévi-Strauss (1969), where a woman was seen as the ultimate gift in an alliance network.

Rowlands (1980) has discussed kinship and alliances during the Late European Bronze Age. His study is based on early Greek texts, which he uses to interpret Bronze Age society in Greece as one where men who had not achieved the absolute top level of society married the daughters/sisters of top level men in order to enhance their own status. Men who were ranked at the highest level either married their daughters/sisters to men of the same status in other areas, or to men in the same area who had lower status than their own. He then uses this model to interpret alliances and kinship in the Late Central European Bronze Age. If this model is the correct interpretation it must mean that the alleged foreign women were the wives of chiefs, and most likely the daughters or sisters of foreign chiefs. However, a closer study of the material shows a much more complex picture than the one put forward by Rowlands.

Jockenhövel (1991) claims that the women in the Middle Bronze Age in modern day Germany have a mobility pattern where the woman moved between 50–100 km, even though there are also a few that moved more than 200 km (see figure 95). However, most of the women only moved within the local regional group. It is possible that the Late Bronze Age partly has a different pattern as a few female Nordic Bronze Age objects have been recovered in Switzerland. These objects have been interpreted as possibly having arrived in Switzerland as a part of bridal equipment (Thrane 1975:225ff).

Are there ways to view these women other than as individuals who were used passively, as pawns in male power strategies? Sørensen has pointed out that the supposed foreign women carry the complete costume from their area of origin. According to her this should mean that it is the mature woman rather than young woman who moved between the different regions (pers.comm. Marie Louise Stig Sørensen 2007-03-13). Anthropological studies have shown that in many societies the female gains an increased mobility after reaching the menopause, for then many limitations due to the menstruation cycle vanish. The woman’s sexuality can no longer result in children and therefore the woman cannot disgrace the family. Cases have been recorded where women start trading, going on pilgrimages and travelling to distant family after the menopause (Brown 1982). There are also anthropological

examples of societies that are matriarchal, i.e. the men move into the woman's home (Sanday 2003).

Foreign women

A few of the graves that could be interpreted as a foreign woman in southern Scandinavia will be presented and discussed below.

The visible examples of foreign women or women with imported objects from Period IB have already been presented and discussed in chapter 3, and this evidence will also be brought into the discussion in this chapter.

There are some examples of women who were buried in southern Scandinavia in Lüneburg costume. There also exist a number of burials that have, for example, a Lüneburg wheel-headed pin in combination with Nordic Bronze Age artefacts. The ones with a full array of foreign equipment will be discussed first, before bringing the mixed examples into the discussion.

One of the graves in Flintbek (mound LA 1, Grave A), Kr Rendsburg-Eckernförde, Schleswig-Holstein (Ke9593A) demands closer consideration. The burial is the central grave in a mound that also contains three other interments. The mound is one in a tumulus necropolis with 80 barrows containing burials from the Stone and Bronze Ages. The mounds were excavated between 1977-1991, and the burial in question was found during the last year of excavation (Zich 1992a&b). The grave contains a young person who has been determined to be between the ages of 15-16 years old by the help of analysis of the 28 remaining teeth. The grave also contained skeletal remains of the skull and other parts of the skeleton, such as finger bones. The skull and teeth were coloured green, so it is plausible that the head gear could have had some bronze ornamentation, possibly a 'diadem' (German: Stirnblech), although this cannot be confirmed. In the area of the skull two Lockenringen, possibly a part of the head gear, were found. A neck collar was placed at the neck⁷¹, on the chest was a Lüneburg wheel-headed pin, on each forearm was a spiral arm-ring and there were finger-rings on two of the right hand fingers. An ankle-ring had also been worn on one of the legs. The body had been placed in the supine position with arms crossed on the chest (Zich 1992a:185ff). Some of these artefacts are characteristic for the Lüneburg culture. This particular combination of artefacts is typical for the Ilmenau-group, Behringen-Bonstorf period of the Lüneburg culture (Zich 1992a:186). What makes it extraordinary and interesting vis-à-vis the question of the so-called foreign women is that the grave also contained some textile remains. These remains have been analysed by Ehlers (1998:162ff). Textile remains were found and conserved from the area of the neck collar, the wheel-headed pin, near the right hand finger bones

and by the ankle-ring. Remains of s/z-fabric, with embroidery on the edge, were discovered near the neck collar. There are no remains of textile by the arm-ring, which suggests that the arm of the blouse ended before the arm-ring (Ehlers 1998:163ff). Embroidery was also found on the blouse of the Skydstrup grave (Broholm & Hald 1939:51ff) and on a piece of a blouse from a grave in Melhøj (Bender Jørgensen, Munksgaard & Stærmos Nielsen 1984:34f). Both examples of embroidery belong to Period III. This makes the textile fragments with embroidery found in Flintbek the oldest remains of embroidery on a blouse in the south Scandinavian Bronze Age. It is likely that it is the remains of a blouse of the same type as the three fully preserved examples (see chapter 4). Along with the remains of the above-mentioned s/z-fabric were pieces of s/s-fabric which were found under the wheel-headed pin's head, the finger bones and the ankle-ring. A piece of s/z-fabric was also found by the finger bones. The s/s-fabric was found above the finger bones and the s/z-cloth under the finger bones. Ehlers' interpretation of the s/s-fabric is that the two at the top were part of a blanket or a cape, and the part at the feet derive from either a piece of a skirt, footwear or a blanket. All of the s/z-fabric was probably remains of a blouse. Close to the remains of a pyrite a piece of sprang and cord was found, which either belonged to some kind of bag or a second piece of headwear. Ehlers interpreted this as resembling the headpieces found in Skrydstrup and Borum Eshøj (Ehlers 1998:162ff).

Another possible Lüneburg woman buried in southern Scandinavia, one who has moved further than the one in Flintbek, is the burial found in Smidstrup Hovgård, Skibinge, Bårse, Præstø (Ke1264A). The grave contained: a double-sided profiled wheel-headed pin, a small buckle ornamented tutulus, a buckle ornamented bronze disc, and a 'diadem' (see figure 96).⁷² The tutulus and the disc have been interpreted by Lomborg (1969:129ff) as pure Lüneburg objects. Lomborg compares the burial with the female buried with a costume rich with bronze decoration in grave II, mound 1, Schatstallberg, Wardböhmen, Celle, Lower Saxony (see appendix 5). According to Lomborg the remains in Smidstrup Hovgård belong to a woman who originated in the Lüneburg culture. Lomborg also argues that wheel-headed pins of the type found at Smidstrup Hovgård are also found in the Lüneburg culture. This, however, is a truth requiring modification. According to Laux (1976:24f) there are only two double-sided profiled wheel-headed pins with this spoke scheme (F) on the Lüneburg Heath. According to Laux this pin type has its main distribution in southern Germany and Böhmen. It seems too simplistic to interpret the Smidstrup Hovgård find as a woman who originated in Lower Saxony.

⁷¹ I have previously written (Bergerbrant 2005a:166) that the neck collar was of Mecklenburger type based on Zich's (1992a&b) publication of this; however, this turned out to be incorrect. Closer examination of the neck collar in Schleswig revealed that it was an ordinary ribbed type, which is very common on the Lüneburg Heath.

⁷² In Aner and Kersten volume 2 (Ke1264A) the objects are interpreted differently (a wheel-headed pin, a belt plate, a disc-headed pin and a 'diadem'), based on the drawings of the objects. However, Lomborg's interpretation of the artefacts seems more probable.



Figure 94: Places mentioned in chapter 7

⁷³ It is difficult to know exactly which grave Willroth (1989:94ff) means on his map (fig 11) on page 96. However, all the burials that he has plotted in this region are according to him local women with added Lüneburg artefacts.

⁷⁴ It has been interpreted as a belt plate, but it seems likely that it is a Lüneburg bronze disc rather than a Nordic belt plate. There is no description of the placement of the object in the burial, which would have helped to more securely determine the type of artefact.

In my view this shows more complex structures, although it seems likely that the woman actually originated in the Lüneburg culture. She probably had contacts with more southern areas before her arrival in Scandinavia. Here we have a woman who was probably in contact with individuals from a large swathe of Europe, from Böhmen to Scandinavia. Either she herself had travelled to all these places, or just between Lower Saxony and Zealand; which is true is hard to know. Obviously she had some connection that manifested itself in her costume, and this would have been visible to those able to read the subtle messages in her dress.

In burial 7, mound IV, Abbekås, Skivarp, Scania, remains of another woman equipped with the Lüneburg costume have been found. The burial contained: a neck collar, five pendants (Stachelscheiben), two tutuli, a spiral arm-ring and a possible Lockenring (see figure 97). The pendants were interpreted by the excavator, Folke Hansen, as having been part of a necklace (Hansen 1938:89ff). To my

knowledge this grave has never before been brought into the discussion of foreign women. However, it seems highly likely that these are the remains of a woman who originated in the Lüneburg Heath. This hypothesis is based on the combination of artefacts and the type and style of the objects. The burial can easily be compared with the burial at Becklingen, Celle, Lower Saxony (grave I, mound 44) in which a ribbed neck collar, a wheel-headed pin and three pendants (Stachelscheibe) were found (Piesker 1958:25, Taf 3), or the grave from Quarrendorf, which contained: a Haarknoten-Fibel, studs, a neck collar, four Stachelscheiben, two arm-rings, a finger-ring, an ankle-ring and possibly a knife (Laux 1971: cat 178, Taf 24). The only thing that one might use against an interpretation of this grave as being that of a Lüneburg woman is the style of the neck collar. The neck collar seems to be more in the Scandinavian style, with spiral ornamentation, whereas most Lüneburg neck collars are ribbed. The example from Quarrendorf is ribbed and has spiral ornamentation, although the design is situated close to the edges rather than in the central part of the object (Laux 1971:39ff).

Another grave that contains a wheel-headed pin is grave B in Vaale, Steinburg, Schleswig-Holstein (Ke9507B). The deceased also had two arm-rings, two ankle-rings, a tutulus and possibly a belt plate/bronze disc. This grave is more difficult to interpret as a clear example of a Lüneburg woman buried outside her area of origin. Based on the presence of the fragmented wheel-headed pin and the two ankle-rings, one can argue that this is a foreign woman rather than a local woman who acquired some exotic artefacts. Willroth (1989:94ff), who seems to⁷³ interpret this grave as a local woman with exotic objects, has argued that the use of the ankle-ring is just due to influences from southern neighbours. It is difficult to say which is the most likely interpretation – both seem reasonable based on the evidence.

In Søviggårde, Ovtrup parish, Vester-Horne district, Ribe County (Ke4170) a grave was found that contained a ribbed neck collar, a wheel-headed pin, a bronze disc⁷⁴, five amber buttons, two amber beads, and one blue glass bead. This also seems to be the remains of a woman who originated from the Lüneburg Heath. However, she is not as richly furnished as some of her contemporaries.

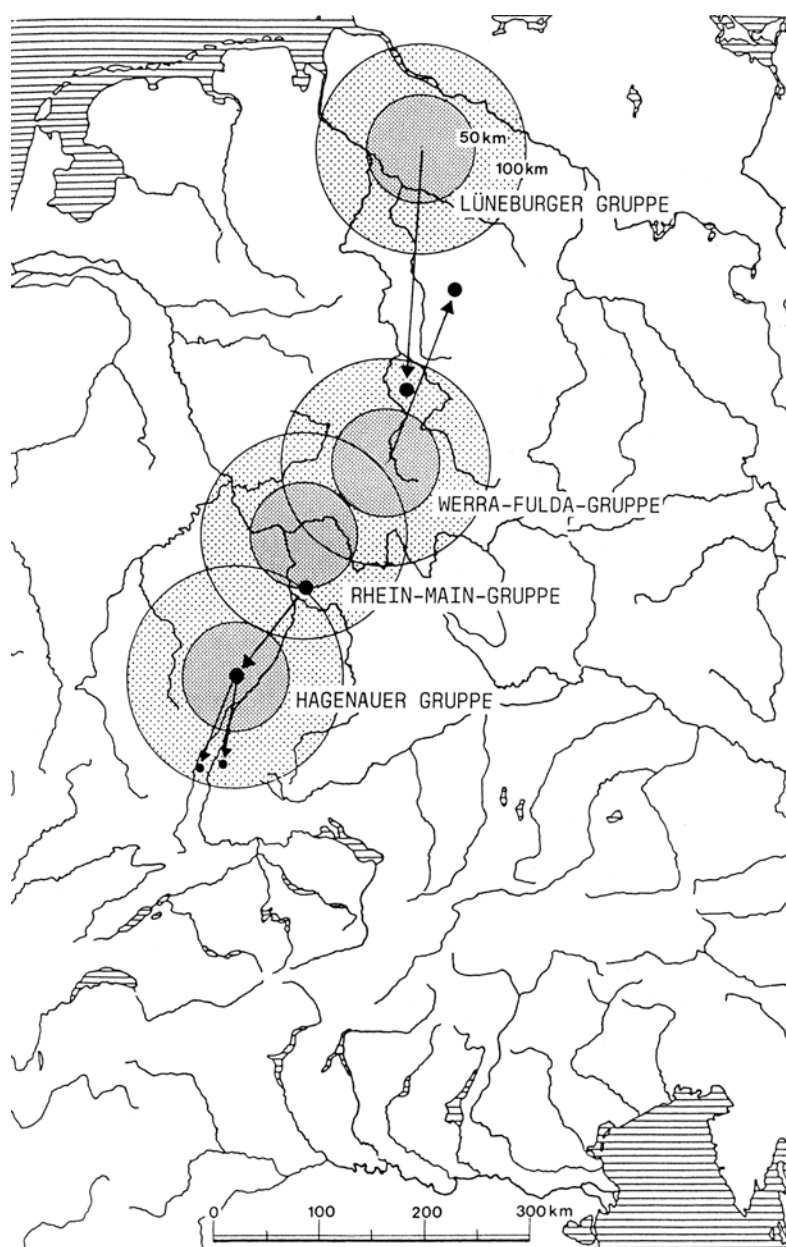
These five burials are all dated to Period II and contain women who were buried in southern Scandinavia, but who wore a more or less complete outfit from the Lüneburg culture. To my knowledge there are no richly furnished foreign women buried in the full costume of any other European area in southern Scandinavia, nor are there any foreign woman from Period II or III buried on the Lüneburg Heath. However, there is the Period IB wom-

an from Austria-Hungary. According to Jockenhövel (1991:52ff) there are graves in other European areas that can probably be interpreted as women from the Lüneburg Heath. Examples given by him are: Lüssow, Güstrow Mecklenburg⁷⁵; Shelen, Rügen, Mecklenburg; and Reckerode, Hersfeld-Rothenburg, Hessen. Neither is there to my knowledge any south Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age woman burial on the Continent. However, the artefacts found in a cairn in Offerlunden, Torslunda, Tierp, Uppland, Sweden (O2839), indicate that south Scandinavian women may have moved further north. This cremation grave seems to have both south Scandinavian objects: a neck collar, a miniature dagger, a double button, two tutuli, as well as six Continental pendants (Ekholm 1911:226f). Ekholm argues that the pendants are of Hungarian type, however they have a much wider distribution pattern than that, and this special type of pendant is of Wardböhlen type, which is found in Austria, Bohemia, Yugoslavia, Northern Germany, and Sweden (Wels-Weyrauch 1978:42ff). The grave is unique in its area and could indicate that even south Scandinavian women moved outside southern Scandinavia during Period II. It can probably be connected with the grave from Abbekås, even if the artefacts here are of a more Nordic style than the ones in Abbekås.

Based on Sørensen's view, i.e. that these foreign women wore the adult woman's outfit, they could be viewed as the remains of mature women who have moved to a different area. However, the skeletal and dental remains from Flintbek, the only grave that has been osteologically aged, indicate that the deceased had only been c. 15-16 years old. The age of the Flintbek woman could be interpreted as strengthening Kristiansen's and Rowland's hypothesis of young women who were married out in order to create/keep an alliance. As shown in chapter 6, it seems that individuals were viewed as grown ups from about the age of 14, and based on this one can easily argue that the woman in Flintbek probably had been married to a man from southern Scandinavia and was buried in the region of her new family. Whether she moved passively, was forced by male relatives, or if she herself chose her partner is a matter of speculation. In areas with better preserved skeletal material DNA analysis might help us to distinguish if the deceased woman came to the area as a mature adult or as a young bride, becoming a mother to a new generation of Middle Bronze Age people of some local European community.

Women with both local and foreign objects

There are also a number of graves that suggest a foreign woman, but which have one or a few local arte-



facts, or burials with mainly local artefacts and one or two foreign objects. Some of these graves will be discussed below. Wheel-headed pins and other Lüneburg objects found in Denmark have previously been discussed by Lomborg (1969:128ff, 138f). Some of these, as well as new finds from Denmark, finds from Scania, and Schleswig-Holstein, will be discussed.

Daggers are never found in female burials in the Lüneburg culture, but there are a few burials with typical Lüneburg artefacts and a dagger in southern Holstein. Willroth argues that this combination is unique for Lauenburg, southern Holstein (Willroth 1989:94ff). This, however, is not the case, and the combination exists elsewhere as well. Willroth has not published any details about the burials used in his analysis (Willroth 1989), so the burials from Lauenburg will not be discussed here.

In grave A in Katrinelund, Vinding, Tyrsting,

Figure 95: Female pattern of movement during the Middle Bronze Age according to Jockenhövel (from Jockenhövel 1991:61 figure 1).

⁷⁵ This burial is rather special since it contains an axe in addition to the female objects (Schubart 1972:125), which, if this is a proper closed find, is a unique combination.

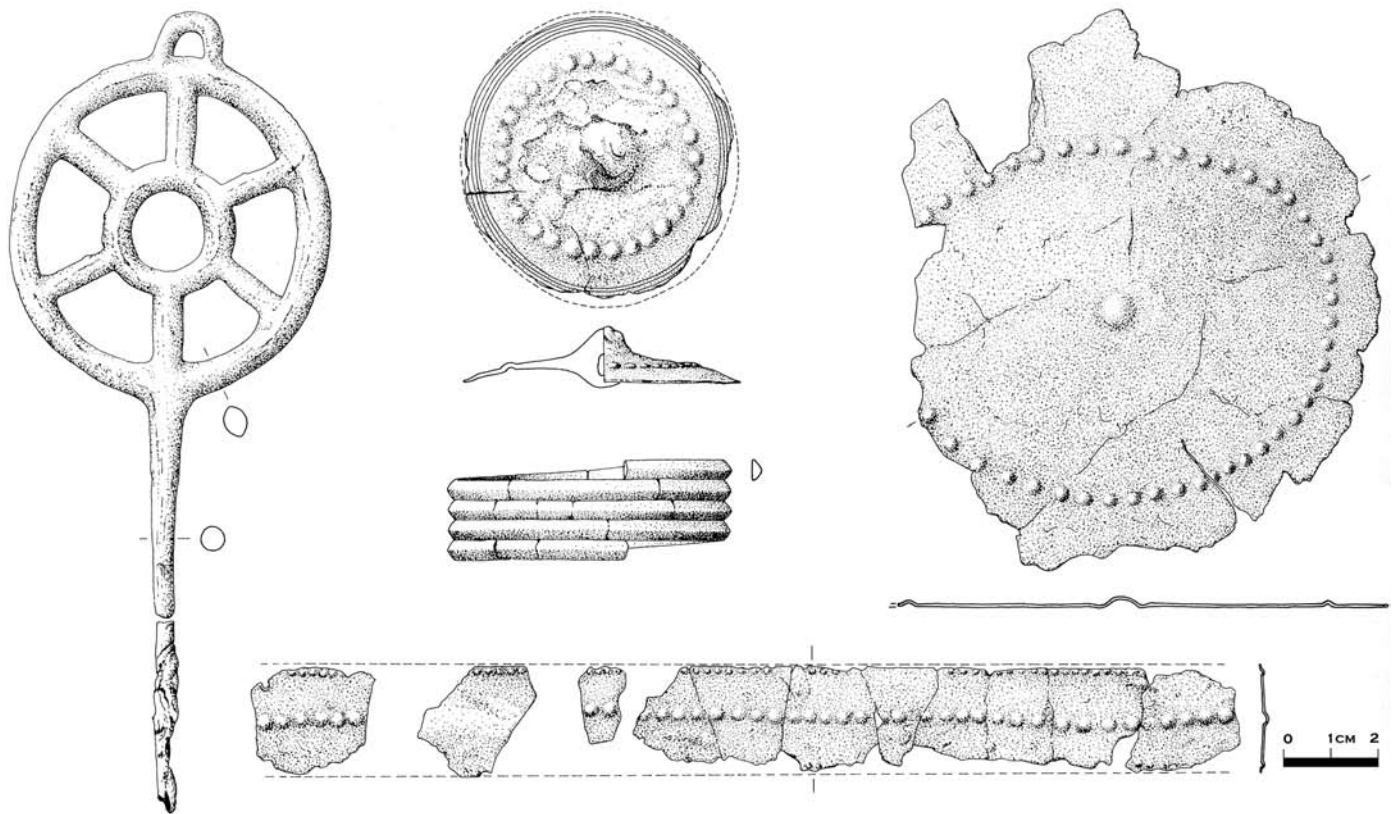


Figure 96: Artefacts from grave A sb nr 50, Smidstrup hov-gård, Skibinge parish, Ke1264A (from Aner & Kersten 1976: Tafel 110).

Skanderborg (sb 60) a Lüneburg wheel-headed pin, a Lockenring, a dagger, a possible finger-ring and a ceramic vessel were found (Jensen, K.B. 1986). A burial with typical Lüneburg characteristics with an added dagger was found in Albertsdorf, Dithmarschen grave B mound 29 (Ke9005). The burial contained: a possible 'diadem', a ribbed neck collar, a wheel-headed pin, a dagger, three glass beads, and a tutulus. The burial in Hademarschen, Hanerau-Hademarschen, Rendsburg-Eckernförde, Schleswig-Holstein (Ke9641) contains: a Lüneburg wheel-headed pin, a dagger, and a belt plate/bronze disc. The women appear to have originated in the Lüneburg culture, and added a dagger to their outfits only after coming to southern Scandinavia. There seems to have been a much wider geographical spread of women wearing a Lüneburg costume and a dagger than that suggested by Willroth. My overview indicates that this class of burial is limited to the old Sögel-Wohldede area, but this is only a tentative conclusion since a comprehensive survey for this type of burials has not yet been conducted.

Graves where the deceased person's area of origin is more difficult to decide are those with only a few objects where some are of a general type, such as spiral arm-rings, finger-rings, etc. These more 'ordinary' graves are seldom discussed in the literature, perhaps because they are harder to place as a chief's sister/daughter that has been married to another chief. There are probably many examples of these types of graves, but only a few examples will

be discussed below.

Grave B in mound 1 in Itzehoe, Steinburg, Schleswig-Holstein (Ke9407B) contains a wheel-headed pin of Lüneburg type. In Löderup 15, Scania, in a small construction (36C) between grave 36A and 36B, some human bones were found together with a drilled dog tooth, and above this two bronze pins had been placed. The pins were a Lüneburg disc-headed pin and a small undecorated disc-headed pin (Strömberg 1975a:44ff). The Lüneburg disc-headed pin belongs to Period II, while the other pin type is more commonly dated to European late phases of the Early Bronze Age (Kubach 1977:52ff). The Löderup cemetery is discussed in more detail in chapter 6, where it is interpreted as a cemetery for the people situated below the uppermost strata in the society.

A wheel-headed pin and a spiral arm-ring were found in Hochdonn, Dithmarschen, Schleswig-Holstein (Ke9156). The drawings do not allow one to determine whether the pin has a double-sided or single-sided profile, although it appears to be double-sided. It should therefore be viewed as coming from further south than the Lüneburg culture. The wheel-headed pin is of the Mülheim-Dietesheim type, which belongs to the Bessunger Wald phase, i.e. Br C, late Period II, and has its main distribution in eastern Hessen and north-eastern Starkenburg (Kubach 1977:236ff). According to Lomborg (1969:138) there are at least three double-sided profiled wheel-headed pins in Denmark (in Holbæk district, Præstø district [the above mentioned

Smidstrup burial] and Hjørring district).

The more modestly furnished burials with a few foreign artefacts (discussed above) indicate that movements and intermarriage among different geographical areas and cultural groups took place on many levels. It was not just the top level of society that engaged in such practices. The top level is demonstrated by the Flintbek and Smidstrup Hovgård burials. This indicates that the marriage structures during the Bronze Age were more complex than previously appreciated. A much more extensive study than is possible here is needed before one can draw any reasonable conclusions about the kinship and marriage structures in the European Middle Bronze Age. In future work archaeological evidence from cemetery layout, artefact evidence in conjunction with settlement patterns and DNA analysis from well excavated and well documented cemeteries in Continental Europe could be used to highlight and give us a deeper understanding of these social structures.

Evidence of social networks can be seen in graves where most of the objects can be said to belong to one group, but one or two objects are from another geographical area. These contacts might have developed through kinship and marriage patterns, but they might equally have developed through other bonds

On the Lüneburg Heath no female burials from Period II and III that can be said to contain a foreign woman. However, it is quite common that female burials contain one foreign object. This can be seen in the wheel-headed pins with a double-sided profile (Laux 1976:15-26) that are found in many graves, for example, in grave V in mound 4 Wittenberg, Bleckmar, Celle.

A Period III grave in Store Loftgård, Pedersker, Bornholms Sønder, Bornholm (Ke1477IVA), contained cremated bones, a Bornholm fibula, a double button, a button, spiral bronze tubes, 27 glass beads, two bronze beads, a finger-ring with spiral ends, spiral hooks, and parts of a ceramic vessel (see figure 98). The Bornholm fibula has a very local distribution pattern, and with the exception of only a few examples all are found on Bornholm and south-eastern Scania (Oldeberg 1933:40ff). However, the finger-ring with spiral ends and the spiral hooks are common in Continental Europe (see for example Laux 1971, Wels-Weyrauch 1989a, Kilian-Dirlmeier 1975:37ff). The objects in the grave suggest that the deceased had her roots on Bornholm, but at the same time was tied into a network that enabled her to acquire foreign objects.

A Period V hoard in Drouwen, Holland has been interpreted as a female burial and is called the "Princess from Drouwen"; the grave contained both local and Nordic artefacts. Butler (Butler J.J. 1986) has interpreted this hoard as being connected to a south Scandinavian Bronze Age woman



who married into the local community. Thrane (2001) has shown that this might be too simple an explanation by showing that the Nordic artefacts come from two different regions within the Nordic cultural area. The area of origin for the fibula is northern Germany, whereas the belt buckle seems to come from north Jutland.

Conclusion

In Period IB we only have a few females visible in the burial material; this is probably due to the fact that no local female bronze objects were produced during this time (see chapter 3). Therefore, most of the women that are visible during this phase are foreign. The artefacts indicate that they have travelled a long distance; two seem to have come from the Austria-Hungary area, based on the presence of heart-shaped pendants. The woman buried in Fallingsbostel, Lower Saxony, definitely had a big impact on her local society. Almost all of her clothing elements (see figure 99), except for the heart-shaped pendant, continued on and were replicated, however indirectly, as part of the clothing custom for subsequent generations; one might say, then, that she

Figure 97: Objects from grave 7 mound IV, Abbekås, Scania (from Hansen 1938:89 figure 55). The neck collar is c. 17 cm long and the pendants have a diameter of c. 4.2 cm each. Scale unknown.

stands at the head of the Lüneburg culture.

During Period II this structure seems to have changed and the women with a complete outfit from a foreign area all seem to have moved north from the Lüneburg culture to southern Scandinavia, except one that might have come from Hessen to south Scandinavia. To my knowledge there is no evidence of a female moving in the other direction. One could argue that the Lüneburg culture was an expanding society where many of the women ended up buried in areas outside their area of origin. In contrast, it is apparent that during Period II in south Scandinavia fewer women moved outside the region, while more women entered it. This seems to change during Period III, when no foreign women have been positively identified in the burial record. However, there are graves with mixed assemblages such as the one in Store Loftgård. Perhaps this is a result of expanding female networks that were created with the help of the women who moved into the region during Period II.

As shown in chapter 4, there were two different types of head gear with metal additions worn in the Lüneburg Heath during the Middle Bronze Age: one with a 'diadem' and one described as a 'winged-bonnet'. In Scandinavia only women wearing headdresses of the 'diadem' type have been found, and possibly three of the women with Lüneburg artefacts had a 'diadem'. This may indicate that a bonnet with bronze objects symbolized belonging to a social group, whereas the winged bonnets were a symbol for some kind of office, perhaps of chiefly, ritual or some other nature.

Men's journeys

The 'opposite' of foreign women, i.e. foreign men, are seldom discussed in the literature. Men who were married into an area in order to strengthen alliances, or indeed for any other reason, are seldom found as an interpretation in the archaeological literature. A few examples exist, such as Bolin (1999:39-54), who discussed marriage patterns in northern Sweden during the Bronze Age based on the pottery. He concludes that from the pottery evidence it is difficult to interpret if the society practiced male or female exogamy, as this would be based on assumptions of who made the pottery. Another researcher who has discussed foreign men is Wels-Weyrauch (1989b), who interpreted a male burial in the area around Munich as a man who originated in the Schwäbischen Alb. More recently, Kristiansen and Larsson (2005:37) modified their view and argue that "sometimes an alliance would be confirmed through marriage, where either a man or a woman moved to the alliance partner".

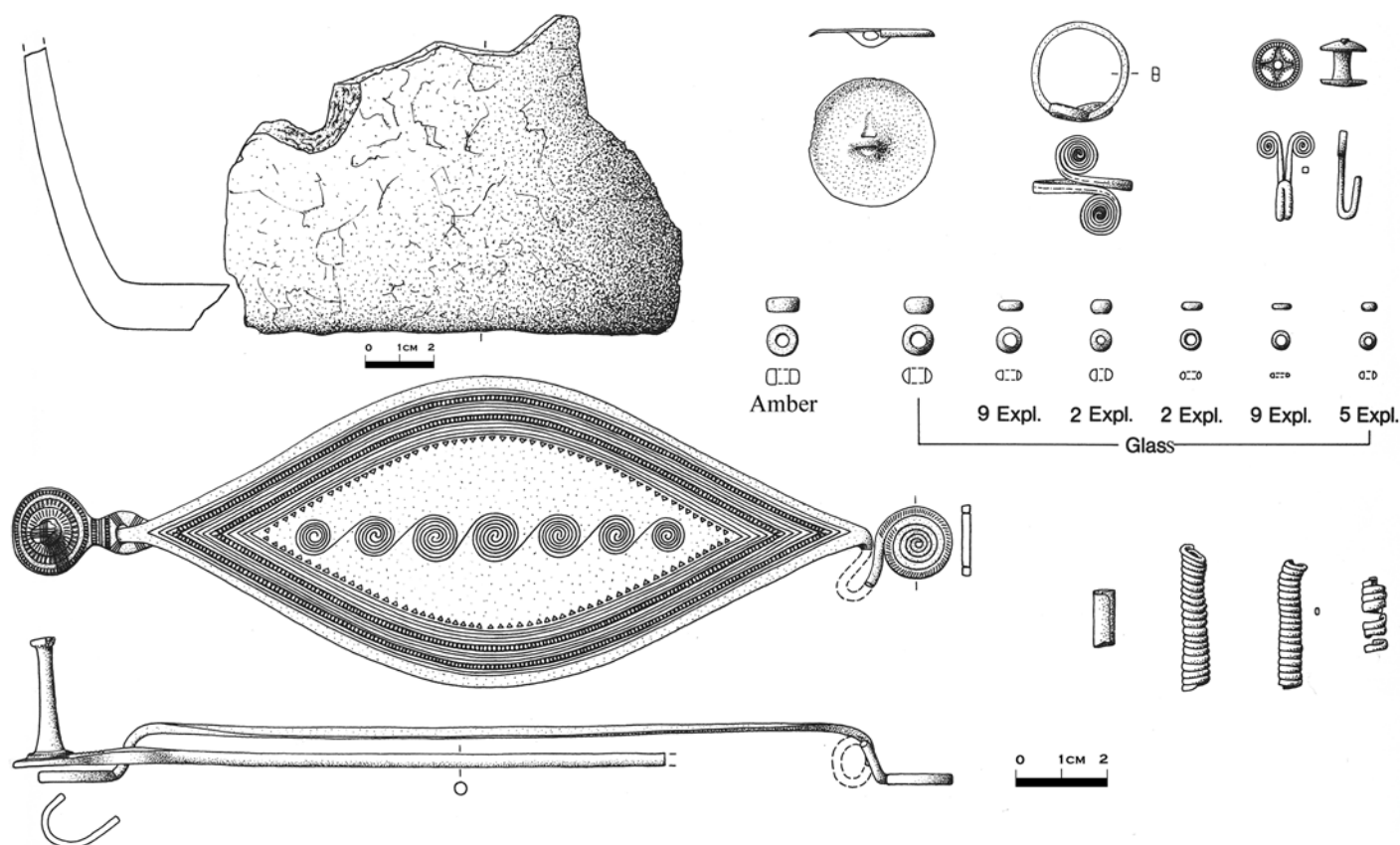
Foreign men

As discussed in chapter 5 the view of males, their equipment and their appearance has been generalised for most of Central and northern Europe during the Bronze Age (Treherne 1995). This unified appearance is not entirely accurate as demonstrated in chapters 4 and 5. This view of men as having a 'European' look might be the reason why foreign men have so seldom been discussed. Men are generally viewed as having travelled abroad to gain something (bronze, status, knowledge), before returning home to use their new skills in the local community. The few men that have been regarded as buried in an area other than their area of origin are generally seen as 'active' men who came to the area in order to rule, meet with other important men, or something similar; rarely are they seen as part of a marriage alliance.

Other examples of Sögel-Wohlde men that are buried outside their region of origin are the burials in Schneiderwald and Thierschneck (Kubach 1973:403) (for more detailed discussions see chapter 3). In the last two cases there are indications that they moved over 200 km away from their area of origin (see chapter 3).

The burial of the Period IB man in Drouwen, Holland has been interpreted as a warrior who had authority over the local region, but who probably originated elsewhere, and that the burial was "presumably that of a chiefly person" (Butler, J.J. 1986:149ff). This conclusion is given despite the fact that the author goes on to write that the first time one could possibly find a chieftom in the area was during the Early Iron Age (Butler, J.J. 1986:159). The grave is a richly furnished Sögel-Wohlde burial containing: a Sögel dagger, a Fritzlar axe, nine flint arrowheads, a whetstone, and two golden Lockenringen (Butler J.J. 1986:149f). In the Drouwen there are clear connections to south Scandinavia in the Late Bronze Age (Butler 1986, Thrane 2001). It is difficult to say if this Period IB burial is the first in a series of continuous relations between south Scandinavia and the Drenthe County due to the fact that clear evidence of contact is missing for hundreds of years. In the Drenthe County there is one more Sögel burial (Zeijen, Fries) which contains a Sögel blade and a whetstone (Ha 638). It is possible that this area in northern Holland was either loosely attached to the Sögel-Wohlde group or that these burials are the remains of a failed attempt to expand the group's area.

A grave in a mound in Ehestorf, county Bremerwörde, Lower Saxony, included a dagger, an axe, a spearhead of Valsømagle type, a flint spearhead, a belt hook and a razor (Bergmann 1970 AL2:22, Laux 1971 catalogue 4). This period IB burial is situated within the Sögel-Wohlde area, but many of the artefacts can be connected to the Valsømagle area.



The combination of a spearhead of Valsømagle type, a dagger/sword and a belt hook can be found in Lysemosegård, Bovense, Vindinge, Svendborg (Ke2141B); and Buddinge, Gladsakse, Sokkelund, København (Ke381). Bergmann and Laux disagree on the origin of the axe; Bergmann argued that it is of Nordic type and Laux that it is an Osthannover type. In my view the deceased was a man who originated in the Danish Isles, but was buried for some unknown reason in Lower Saxony.

An especially interesting place for this discussion is a mound in Schwinge, Stade, Lower Saxony. The mound is within the Lüneburg culture area, but close to the Nordic Bronze Age burials in north-western Lower Saxony (Laux 1971:1f). Randsborg (1993:78) argues that a grave in Anderling, Bremerwörde, north-eastern Lower Saxony is the absolute south-eastern border of the Nordic Bronze Age (Period II). The Schwinge recovery is a mixed find, but it is still very interesting for our discussion. Within the mound two sword blades, two axes (one of a British and one of a Nordic type), a Nordic fibula and spiral ornamented button were found (Laux catalogue 409). Here it seems we have the material from two male graves; one from the British Isles and one from the Nordic area. Laux (2000:42f) dates the British axe type to the Sögel-Wohlde period, and appears to regard this find as the only artefact from a probable burial. It seems possible that the two swords, the Nordic axe, the fibula and the button came from one possible Period II grave. As demon-

strated in chapter 4, it was common in parts of Schleswig-Holstein that the men in Period II were buried with more than one weapon, and some of them had two swords. Therefore it is likely that this is the burial of a man who originated in Schleswig-Holstein. What is really interesting is that two foreign men from two succeeding periods are buried in the same mound, a mound that covered a megalithic tomb (Laux 2000:42f). In the Stade region there is another grave that contained a sword and a Nordic fibula (Ohrensen) (Laux 1971: catalogue nr 401).

As shown in chapter 4, it was a man from the Lüneburg Heath who was buried in Dannewerk, Schleswig-Holstein (Ke2338A). This appears to be the only Lüneburg man in southern Scandinavia. Other scholars, for example Aner and Kersten, have interpreted this grave as a female burial, so there might be more men wearing the full costume of the Lüneburg culture in southern Scandinavia who have been overlooked because they were interpreted as female burials. The erroneous determination of the burial is probably due to the lack of 'weaponry' (as daggers are a unisex artefact category) and the presence of many arm-rings. This is a combination that is common in male burials in the Lüneburg Heath, but uncommon in Scandinavia.

During Period IB we can see a fairly wide movement of males in the region, both Sögel-Wohlde males who moved outside their region of origin (as seen in the cases from Holland), and the acceptance of newcomers into the Sögel-Wohlde region from

Figure 98: Artefacts from grave IV A in sb nr 134, Store Loftsgård, Pedersker parish, Ke1477 IVA (from Aner & Kersten 1977: Tafel 13).

males from other areas. During the following period, however, this steady movement of males seems to have decreased.

Men with both local and foreign artefacts

Foreign artefacts in male graves are generally interpreted as evidence of an important chief with a wide network of contacts (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005:231f, Randsborg 1993:132ff, Thrane 1984b:146).

In the Lüneburg culture there are graves with foreign objects. The Böhmisches Scheibenkopfnadeln (Bohemian disc-headed pins) are found in male graves dated to Laux's male phase II; the pin type was then copied locally during the following phase (Laux 1971:55f). One example of an imported pin is the one found in grave II, mound 4, in Wittenberg, Bleckmar, Celle (Laux 1971: catalogue nr 21B). One pin of this type was also found with a flint strike-a-light in a grave in mound II in Fuglie, Steglarp, Scania (O169).

In male graves in Scandinavia there are many objects that travelled long distances, such as the Period II vessel found in grave A in Gyldegård, Øster-Marie parish, Bornholms Øster district, Bornholm County (Ke1548A), and Nadel mit Trompetenkopf und geripptem Hals that, for example, can be seen in the burial at Hjerpsted parish, Højer district, Tønder County (Ke2916), as well as a large number of imported swords. It has been shown that swords that come from the same workshop have been deposited in both southern Germany and Denmark (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005:232ff).

Due to the fact that many imported swords and other foreign objects are found in male graves in southern Scandinavia one can conclude that there may have been quite a lot of contact between at least certain groups of south Scandinavian men and their counterparts on the Continent.

Conclusion

One can conclude that a lot of male-related artefacts were moving between different regions, not only from the south going northwards, but also artefacts that moved the other way. Some of these contact networks seem to have had long traditions. All of the amber beads from the Early Bronze Age that have been found in Hungary and Slovakia are made from Baltic amber (Bátora 1995:190ff). During Period IB objects such as the Apa-Hajdúsámson sword came the other way. It has been claimed that moulds of Late Nordic Bronze Age objects, such as fibulae and buttons, are found in south-eastern Europe (Wanzek 1997), and many of the bronze shields found in Scandinavia are regarded as having been made in the Carpathian Basin (Thrane 1975:71–84). Or, as shown in the Drouwen example, contact between southern Scandinavia and the area can be

seen during Period IB, and then again during the Late Bronze Age, not only in the so-called "Princess from Drouwen", but also in the two burials containing Nordic razors (Butler, J.J. 1986:154).

A society in movement?

Oestigaard and Goldhahn (2006) argue that at funerals of important individuals from many places came together and exchanged goods. Therefore foreign objects might not indicate that the same person had travelled all the distance, as they might just have travelled one part of the journey. They argue that funerals were times where people reconfirmed and made new alliances. This is definitely one possibility; however, it also leads to many more questions. How was the deceased body kept in order to wait for the guests to arrive, and how did the information travel. Even if people only travelled from southern Germany to the Lüneburg Heath to meet people who travelled from southern Scandinavia we are still talking about information and people travelling a fair distance. In order to confirm and keep the alliances made at the funeral the contacts had to be maintained, and that probably involved further contact and travels. Also, did one not need to travel to an ally's funeral when that person died?

There are many ways artefacts can change hands and areas. One thing is clear, however: they can never travel on their own. All movement of objects involved movement of people. I argue that objects used on the costume can be related somehow to the person wearing the artefact. As shown here and in earlier chapters there was a fairly significant movement of both people and objects during the Middle Bronze Age. Indeed, it is possible that this communication has been more complex than previously thought. For example, there is clear evidence that sewn plank boats crossed the waters in northern Europe. The boat discovered at Dover is an example of this. The boat is dated to the Middle Bronze Age (c.1550 BC) and it is believed to have required a crew of five to twenty to carry a load of 1–3 tonnes. It has been interpreted as a seagoing vessel capable of taking its crew a long distance and able to handle relatively rough waters, and the wear on the bottom of the hull indicates that the boat had been well used (Clark 2005). It has been claimed that the boat is "the product of a long shipbuilding tradition, implying expert and specialized knowledge of the tradition" (Clark 2005:91). A recent interpretation of the Bronze Age plank boats found in the British Isles are that they were used for long-distance exchange (van de Noort 2006:283).

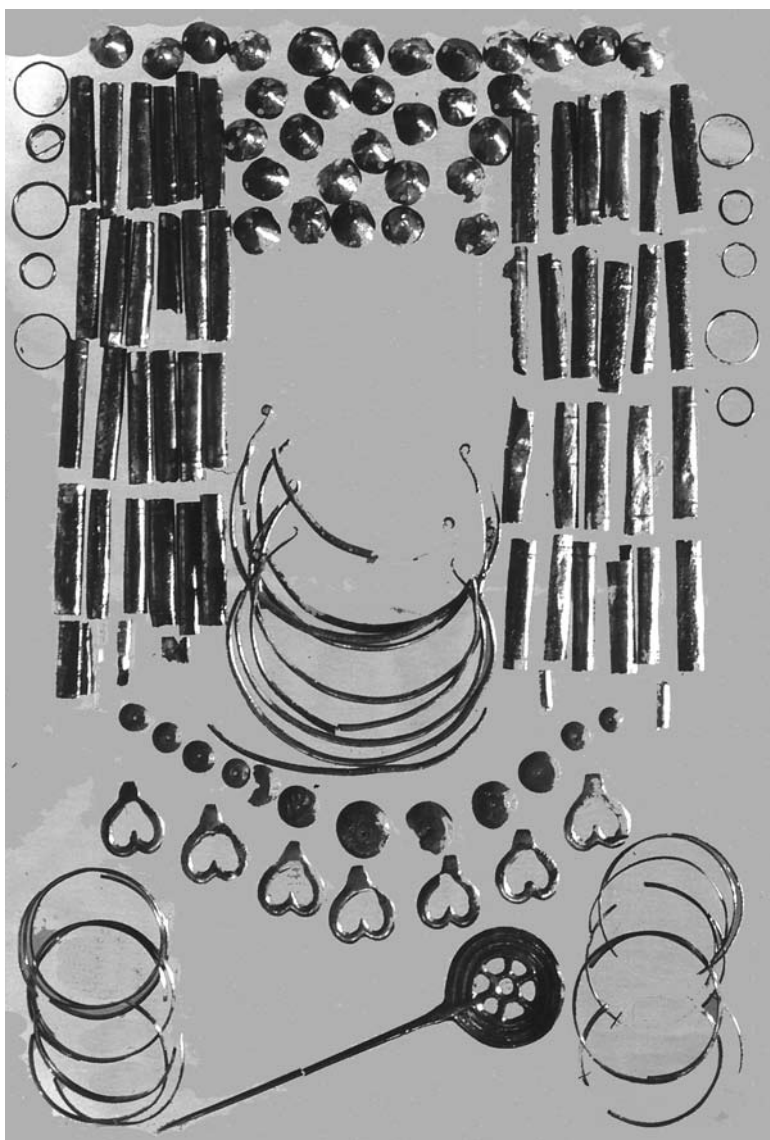
Thrane (1975:183ff) claims for the Late Nordic Bronze Age that the male costume, seen through the artefacts, shows more foreign influences than the female. He argues that this is due to the fact that it is the men who travelled to Europe in order

to obtain the bronze and who then experienced the new impulses, of which only some were accepted back into Nordic society. However, Thrane points out that the most important traits in both the female and male costume date back to an older local tradition.

As has been pointed out by Thrane (1975:1833ff) not all foreign impulses were accepted into the local culture during the Late Bronze Age. This is also the case during the Middle Bronze Age. Only some of the innovations on the Continent were taken up in Scandinavia and Lower Saxony. For example, there is a clear difference in clothing and appearance related objects that were first accepted during Period IB in the Valsømagle area, where we can see belt hooks, razors and tweezers in the burial material. It is first in Period II in the former Sögel-Wohlde area north of the Elbe that these objects were commonly used and became part of the burial goods. In Lower Saxony, however, these objects and swords were rejected throughout the Middle Bronze Age. That toilet equipment and swords were objects that still had an important role for men of Scandinavian origin, even when they moved into the Lüneburg region, can be seen in the burials in Ehestorf and Schwinge. There seems to have been some fundamental differences in how toilet equipment and swords were viewed between the two regions: for men with a south Scandinavian background they were imported objects to keep and be buried with, even outside their area of origin. However, for the men of Lüneburg origin they seem not to have been part of their male identity, not even when they moved outside the Lüneburg Heath, as seen in the man buried at Dannewerk.

That different traditions were taken up or rejected can be seen, for example, in the fact that on the Lüneburg Heath they chose to follow the Tumulus tradition of using pins for fastening the dress, whereas in Scandinavia fibulae were used. In Scandinavia from Period IB pins were often used to close the pouch or to hold a belt together rather than to keep different pieces of costume in place. Fibulae came into use during the late Period IB as can be seen in the burials from Tornum, Lintrup, Frøs, Haderslev (Ethelberg 1991) and Diverhøj, Homå, Djurs Sønder, Randers (Asingh 1988:139f, Vandkilde 1996:241). Fibulae came into use later in the Lüneburg Heath and were used for a very different purpose, as a part of a complex headdress; however, some fibulae date to Period III and had a similar use to those in Scandinavia (Laux 1971:32ff).

The contact between the south Scandinavian and Lüneburg men has therefore had no, or at least very little, influence on the different male costumes. Research has claimed that Central European influences reached Scandinavia via the Lüneburg Heath or northern Germany in general (Coles & Harding



1979:311, Thrane 1975:13). However, the differences in the male-related artefacts indicate a rather different picture. I would argue that it seems more likely that the Scandinavian men had contact directly with many different parts of Europe. If the influences had come through the Lüneburg culture then we would not have had such a variety of European traits evident in the burial material. In the female costume there are both differences and similarities; the presence of neck collars seems to be a northern trait, which is common in the Nordic area, northern Germany and down to the Fulda-Werra Tumulus group, whereas the use of pins is a southern trait that was common in many parts of Europe including the Lüneburg culture, but was not used in southern Scandinavia. Round bronze discs and tutuli are artefact types that were used both in Scandinavia and Lower Saxony. In Scandinavia they take the form of the belt plate, while in Lower Saxony the round jewellery discs were used to ornament the torso. On the female side we can see that the contacts between the regions partly had an effect on the appearance of the female costume, from

Figure 99: Artefacts from the Fallingbommel grave (arranged by Dr F. Laux and photographed by Mr Articus; published with permission from Friedrich Laux). Scale unknown.

technological developments in textiles (Bergerbrant manuscript) to the use of similar objects. This influence is selective, and not all traits from the areas are taken up, and different influences from other European areas can also be observed in the costume. Some European influences were also adopted in both areas, but were treated differently within each society (Bergerbrant 2005b). There seem to have been more contacts between the two regions on the female side than on the male side. On the Lüneburg Heath it generally seems like the women were more influenced by different geographical regions than the men. This might be the result of the seemingly active movement of Lüneburg women to other areas. This probably resulted in good networks between the women in these areas, as the daughters of foreign women could probably keep up their relationships with the Lüneburg Heath.

As shown above the foreign woman buried in Fallingbostel influenced the community in which she was buried. This can clearly be seen in that so many parts of her costume continued to be used by the following generations. No foreign male burial seems to have had the same visual impact on the new area. The man buried in Drouwen, despite being among the wealthiest Sögel-Wohldde burials, did not leave a lasting mark on the following generations of men in the Drenthe region.

Only a limited portion of the local costume was found in the new region. For example, the winged bonnet is not found in any of the graves that contain Lüneburg women in southern Scandinavia. By studying the differences between the costume of the individuals buried in another area and the ones buried in the local area we might be able to identify and discuss artefacts or clothing that had a unique meaning to the culture in question. Perhaps in this way we can find signs and traces of social hierarchy and/or ritual roles in the local society versus general Middle Bronze Age structures.

My study has focused on the movement of people and objects between different cultural groups. Detailed artefact studies of well excavated graves with plans of the grave are needed to study movement on a smaller geographical scale. Movement also occurred between people who belonged to the same cultural group on a higher level, such as the south Scandinavian or the Lüneburg culture, but who used the artefacts slightly differently. Laux has conducted many detailed studies of the Lüneburg Heath and in some cases demonstrated a more local movement pattern in the female burials (Laux 1989). In southern Scandinavia we have one clear example of movement within the larger group as seen in the female burial in Skrydstrup, Gram, Haderslev (Ke 3516D, see chapter 4 for details), the remains of a woman who probably originated on Funen. More detailed studies of this type can help

to clarify our understanding of the kinship and marriage patterns during the Middle Bronze Age. It seems clear, however, that the very long distance marriages that can be seen in the Late Neolithic and Period IB, for example the Søsund, Stenløse, Ølstykke, Frederiksborg burial (Forssander 1936:103) and the probable burial in Fallingbostel, were not undertaken during Period II. Instead, shorter distance 'foreign' marriage patterns appear to have been preferred, generally consisting of Lüneburg women moving to southern Scandinavia. This pattern correlates well with Jockenhövel's (1991) conclusion about marriage patterns during the Middle Bronze Age in Germany. The earlier marriage pattern among high ranking women may have been taken up again during the Late Bronze Age, as indicated by the Nordic artefacts found in Switzerland (Thrane 1975: 225ff).

The existence of male prehistoric networks has long been studied within archaeology; a modern example of this is Apel's (2001) study of flint daggers. In his thesis he argues for different networks/patterns of distribution for the Late Neolithic flint dagger within Scandinavia. However, he also suggests the possibility of two different interaction spheres within the Late Neolithic: one male, with flint daggers as an important part of a male elite exchange, and the other possibly relating to females, where other goods were bartered. I have argued elsewhere (Bergerbrant manuscript) that textiles could be part of this female exchange network. Sometimes an idea is exchanged with an object and sometimes the idea is transformed in that process. In the case of the bronze tubes, we can see that they were used differently in different areas of Europe (Bergerbrant 2005b), but the general idea was maintained that it should be incorporated in the female dress as a sound-creating object. Therefore we can see that these contacts lead to new influences, but not always the direct acceptance of an idea, which was often re-modified to suit the local society. Not all new ideas/objects were adopted by the society, just special ideas/objects that suited the local society. As shown in other parts of the dissertation there are many traits and structures that are common within the European Middle Bronze Age society, but no two societies are exactly the same.

Some modern research has emphasised the importance of travel in order for male Middle Bronze Age individuals to gain status. The actual journey and the knowledge of far away places were important for obtaining high status in the local society (Kristiansen 2002, Kristiansen & Larsson 2005:371). That there is much evidence of prehistoric travels in the Middle Bronze Age is clear. However, to assume that only men travelled and gained status from this knowledge is a misconception. In the light of all the evidence of the alleged foreign wom-

en of the European Bronze Age, we must conclude that women travelled as well. Who would have more knowledge about a foreign place than someone who grew up there? It is therefore likely that both men and women had the possibility of gaining prestige from knowledge about foreign places. One of the most visible examples from the Bronze Age of a person who clearly affected subsequent generations comes from the foreign woman in Fallingsbøl. It is possible that educational travels among the youth of the higher levels of society were fairly common, but they were unlikely to have travelled alone. It would have taken a lot of knowledge and skill to be able to travel safely between the different areas of Europe. In historic times young men on their 'Grand Tours' travelled with servants if the family could afford it (Ohler1995:223f). It seems likely that the young Bronze Age individual travelled with a group of people, too, including warriors and other experienced travellers. During the Middle Ages on the Continent there were well organised routes, with roads and places to stop and eat and sleep along the way (Andersson, L. 1989:13), but this was not so during the Bronze Age, when roads, sign posts and inns are unlikely to have existed. To travel to distant places would therefore have required great skill and knowledge, something a first time traveller would not have possessed.

It is possible that educational travels among the youth of the higher levels of society were fairly common, but they were unlikely to have travelled alone. It would have taken a lot of knowledge and skill to be able to travel safely between the different areas of Europe. In historic times young men on their 'Grand Tours' travelled with servants if the family could afford it (Ohler1995:223f). It seems likely that the young Bronze Age individual travelled with a group of people, too, including warriors and other experienced travellers. During the Middle Ages on the Continent there were well organised routes, with roads and places to stop and eat and sleep along the way (Andersson, L. 1989:13), but this was not so during the Bronze Age, when roads, sign posts and inns are unlikely to have existed. To travel to distant places would therefore have required great skill and knowledge, something a first time traveller would not have possessed.

Berntsson argues for small scale travel in small boats accommodating one or two people, and he argues that there was a need to limit the people who travelled so that not too many people would have gained from the prestige of travelling (Berntsson 2005:198f). The smaller boats that Berntsson finds evidence for in his material might have been the boats that were used for local journeys. The Dover boat and the other plank boats from the British Isles indicate that there were also larger boats for more people and longer journeys in northern Europe. Presumably the travellers needed to bring a fair amount of food and other staples in order to make a longer trip, and therefore a larger boat would have been necessary. As the Middle Bronze Age was a stratified society it does not need to be a problem that many people travelled in a group, as some might travel in the function of servants/slaves, and any status gained would have been among others of the same kind; some might travel as warriors and others as potential future leaders. The important knowledge required to gain prestige and status might not have been available for all the participants in the journey at the destination. To me it seems impossible that one or two men without any previous travel experience could safely find their way down to e.g. the Carpathian Basin and back. It seems that more than one person was needed for a task like that. Kristiansen and Lars-

son's (2005:39f) travelling chief is also difficult to understand, as no one can leave their domain and travel for many years, and then come back and expect the power base to remain intact - surely someone else would have taken over in the interim. To me it seems more reasonable to argue that it was the young generation who went on longer educational journeys to gain experience of the world and perhaps ritual knowledge, and to strengthen and/or reconfirm old alliances. After their return they would be ready to take over the higher social positions. It also seems reasonable to believe that not all who left on a long journey would return.

8. Conclusion

This dissertation has discussed male and female social identities in the Middle Bronze Age in northern Europe based on the rich burial material available for this period (1600–1300 BC). It builds upon the seminal work of Aner & Kersten (1974 onwards), Bergmann (1971), Håkansson (1985), Laux (1971), Oldeberg (1974), and Vandkilde (1996), augmented by archival and museum materials, to elucidate the main questions and aims of this investigation. Numerous case studies have been presented and the subject has been examined from a variety of angles, ranging from costume and appearance to gender- and age-related issues, and from the evidence for conflict and violence to long distance contacts and travel. Some of the main conclusions of this research are outlined below, where new questions and areas for future research are also highlighted.

The burial material from Period IB revealed that the area of investigation was divided into two different burial traditions. One tradition displays signs of institutionalised hierarchal structures with long lived centres of power (Sögel-Wohlde), while the other (Valsømagle) may be characterised by a more experimental, non-fixed approach to burial behaviour. The two ideals seem to be in conflict. In order to fully understand this period and the difference between these cultures - and why a large part of the two cultures merged into what became the south Scandinavian Bronze Age while a smaller part of the Sögel-Wohlde area became the Lüneburg culture - one needs to examine the Fårdrup style assemblages found in the hoards in both the Valsømagle and Sögel-Wohlde areas. While such an investigation has not been possible within the confines of the present research project, it may prove fruitful to expand the study in this way in future work.

In chapter four it was shown that the presence of women in the burial material varied from area to area and over time. Regarding males in southern Scandinavia, it was observed that during Period II swords and other weapons were positioned differently in the graves between the 'Danish' regions and the Schleswig area. This changed over time, however, and swords were treated in the same manner in all south Scandinavian regions during Period III. The most noticeable differences were observed between southern Scandinavia and the Lüneburg area. In the Lüneburg area there is a much greater visibility of female burials than in the south Scandinavian material, and it is also the females who have the most bronze objects associated with their attire. The male ideal here also seems to

differ from that of south Scandinavia based on the lack of swords and grooming equipment. The female costume from the Lüneburg region connects both to the south Scandinavian female costume (e.g. in the neck collar), and to the central European female costume (e.g. in the use of pins). The male ideal seems to partly connect to the central European standard as seen in the use of pins, but the lack of swords and grooming equipment suggests that it differed from both the south Scandinavian and central European ideals.

As shown in chapter five there is a discrepancy between the 'gentlemanly' fighting culture shown in the burial record and the indications of brutality and violence in the skeletal material. The ideal reflected in the graves and rock art seems to show men fighting as equals, but this is met with a reality that appears to be characterised by a martial culture where ambushing and raiding were the norm. Men, women and children were all victims of this kind of violence, although the level of conflict appears not to have been constant. The female response to violence seems to have varied from region to region in Europe. There remains much scope for future work both on the traces of violent acts on female skeletons and relating it to, for example, different movement patterns as seen through female costumes.

This Ph.D. dissertation has demonstrated that views on age changed over the period from the Late Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age. For the Middle Bronze Age it has been shown that children under the age of six did not receive inhumation burials, and that from about the age of 14 the adult burial form was adopted. The focus generally seems to have been on people in the prime of life. There are also indications that women maintained or improved their status in old age, whereas men did not. However, there is a dearth of studies about the treatment of the elderly in the Bronze Age. Studies about elderly people in regions with better preserved skeletal material are essential to a better understanding of these structures.

In chapter seven it was shown that the exogamous marriage pattern seems to have extended much farther during Period IB than during Period II. In the first period there is evidence for long distance marriages of distances up to 800 km, while in the second period there is only evidence for 'foreign' marriage within a shorter range. Marriages between different culture groups seem only to occur between neighbouring cultures. A fuller understanding of the level of contact between the differ-

ent Middle Bronze Age societies might be achieved by extending the study to include the foreign objects found in hoards.

This Ph.D. has shown that within southern Scandinavia there are basic features shared by all, but within this structure there are significant local variations. This is seen, for example, in the way different artefacts were related to the body. Over time the variations seem to diminish, at least regarding the relationship of objects to the body, and there seem to be more similarities between the regions than differences.

Summary

Chapter 1 Social identity and social structure – a gender approach

The aim of this dissertation is to discuss gender and issues relating to social identity in the Middle Nordic Bronze Age in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany between c. 1600–c. 1300 BC.

Gender is seen as a social construction that is based on biological sex. While the possibility of a 'different' gender in addition to male and female is not ruled out, it is not discussed here due to the lack of evidence resulting from the dearth of skeletal material. The focus is instead placed on variations of male and female as one might have different gender roles at different stages of life.

There has been a long debate about which particular artefacts one can relate to male and female. In this dissertation the artefact categories are as follows:

Southern Scandinavia

Male: swords, axes, socketed axes, belt hooks, razors, tweezers, flint strike-a-lights, and slate pendants.

Female: belt plates, neck rings, neck collars and bronze tubes.

Unisex: daggers, awls, arm- and finger rings, pins, fibulae and double buttons.

Lower Saxony

Male: axes, daggers, flint arrow heads, spearheads, and certain pin types.

Female: wheel-headed pins, bronze tubes, neck collars, neck rings, round bronze discs, certain arm-rings such as ribbed arm-rings, bronze studs, and 'diadems' etc.

Unisex: Lockenring, different types of arm-rings and some fibulae.

For the sake of clarity and consistency the term Middle Bronze Age is used throughout the text for the period between c. 1600–c. 1300 BC.

The two main areas of study are south Scandinavia and the Lüneburg culture. The former relates to the area encompassing southernmost Sweden, Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein. The latter is the area north and east of the river Elbe and reaches into north-western Lower Saxony (Stader Geest) down to the Hannover area.

The main sources of data for this work have been drawn from the different published catalogues of Middle Bronze Age material from the relevant areas (Aner & Kersten, Bergmann, Laux, Oldeberg, Piesker and Vandkilde).

Due to the extraordinary preservation of a series of burials from oak log coffins we have full outfits

from the Middle Bronze Age in southern Scandinavia. To date, around 30 barrows with preserved oak coffins have been excavated. The 24 coffins dated by dendrochronology occupy a short time frame of within 50 years of each other; when the rest of the dated coffins are added they all fall within a range of approximately 150 years (from the 14th and beginning of the 13th centuries). The state of preservation is due to special conditions where the core of the mound was encapsulated by an iron core that created very wet or water-logged soil with anaerobic conditions. The latest results in the study of iron core creation in Middle Bronze Age mounds indicate that the redox process was responsible for the creation of a sealed wet environment. This special way of building mounds appears to have been limited to an area on southern and middle Jutland.

Chapter 1 ends with a theoretical discussion about if and how one can see elites in prehistory and what a grave can tell us. This Ph.D. rests on the assumption that a grave reveals something about the deceased individual's life. I also argue that with 'gendered glasses' it is possible to use the 'old' theories and hypotheses in gender studies. In studying contact and relations between different groups it is helpful to think in terms of a 'peer polity interaction' model; however, if the evidence suggests that interaction has not occurred on more or less equal terms, then 'centre-periphery' is a useful explanatory model. It is, however, important to examine the goods and ideas that travel in both directions, and not just focus on one prestige item e.g. the bronze. In this thesis both rank and social categories are examined. The main focus will be on the upper echelon of society, as it is the remains of these individuals that form the basis for this dissertation.

Chapter 2 Chronology and time

This chapter discusses the chronology of the Middle Bronze Age. First the early Scandinavian chronology is discussed and, in accordance with Vandkilde, the conclusion is reached that the different burial traditions of Sögel-Wohlde and Valsømagle are more or less contemporary. The artefacts in Fårdrup style also belong to this phase (Period IB). The Lochhalnadel are found with all three different assemblages, as are other foreign artefacts of European type Br B2. In order to include the material from the Lüneburg Heath and make meaningful comparisons, Laux's chronology is compared and related to both the south Scandinavian and central European chronology. The main results are summarised in figure 21.

Chapter 3 Period IB: A time of social differences and the construction of gendered identities

This chapter discusses Period IB with a focus on its two different burial traditions. It starts with a short presentation of both the background on the period and its gender research history. The presence/absence of female burials is then discussed. The conclusion is that only two secure Period IB female burials exist, both with foreign artefacts, and these are determined as female based on the gender association of the artefacts in their area of origin. There is also another probable female burial as well as a few possible female graves. The analysis of the two burial traditions is based on 247 graves from a large part of northern Europe that can be dated to Period IB (appendix 1).

In the Valsømagle region of the burial tradition, i.e. Blekinge, Scania (Sweden) the Danish Isles and Northern Jutland, there are 69 graves containing metal objects dating to Period IB.

The most common object that accompanied the deceased into the grave is the dagger/sword, followed by axes and spearheads. One can say that most of the men adhered to a warrior ethos. However, another male ideal is also evident, one where no weapons were deposited in the burial, only clothing-related and body changing artefacts, such as belt hooks and tweezers. The distribution of the burials is over a wide area. Only four parishes have more than one Period IB burial with metal objects, and one of these is on the boundary between the two different burial traditions. Only in Bovense parish on Funen do we find two burials with three or more metal objects in the burials. This is the only area where we can see that wealth in metal objects may possibly have been maintained over two generations. The new warrior ideal was created based on individual actions rather than kinship and tradition, and this might explain the 'lack' of female burials with metal objects. This group of people also seems to have been open to different European influences as seen in the lack of uniformity in sets and combinations of burial gifts.

172 graves are analysed from the Sögel-Wohlde region. Here we find combinations of sets, e.g. a dagger/sword combined with an axe, which is the most common combination. There are regional differences within the group, which can be seen e.g. in the different types of axes or the use of the bow and arrow. The graves with the highest number of metal artefacts are the two foreign females (Fallingbostel with 107 bronze objects and Fahrenkrug with its seven metal objects). The region seems to have a number of long lived centres, and in some smaller regions there are two to four Period IB burials with metal objects. This indicates some kind of structural stability. One could argue that the presence of

sets of objects, even though there is slight regional variability, indicates institutionalised hierarchical structures/principles.

The Sögel-Wohlde culture seems to have had a more expansive cultural ideology than the Valsømagle region. This can, for example, be seen in the graves from Schneiderwald and Thierschneck (Kubach 1973), where simpler or more complex Sögel-Wohlde burials have taken place far from their area of origin. This can be seen in the light of Jockenhövel's study of foreign women in Central Europe, where it is shown that the average movement of women was between 50-200 km, with only a few moving beyond 200 km from their place of origin (Jockenhövel 1991:60). The present study indicates contacts between different areas of over 270 km in this period. The formalised system that might go back further in time in the Sögel-Wohlde area might have hindered or delayed the acceptance of the new ways of showing status and identity that were created in Europe. It is possible that it is a merge between these two cultures - the non-fixed, adventurous Valsømagle area with the organised, regulated and institutionalised Sögel-Wohlde culture - that led to what became the so-called Nordic Bronze Age Culture. The institutions of the Sögel-Wohlde region were slowly accepted in the Valsømagle region, and the subsequent experimentation with form and shape in the Valsømagle area led to the new style of bronze objects that are so characteristic for southern Scandinavia.

Chapter 4 Gendered burial traditions: an analysis of local and regional patterns

This chapter opens with a discussion about gender, biological sex and the body, followed by a brief history of textile. This is then followed by a discussion about the clothing and costumes of the individuals buried in the oak log coffins.

The male clothing seems to have some shared traits. They all wore a cloak of some kind, oval or kidney-shaped, and there were remains of cloth or leather in the area of the feet, which indicates that they were all wearing shoes of some kind. The cap seems to be a common feature for male attire, with only Borum Eshøj grave B lacking a cap. The main difference between the men is that two are wearing wrap-arounds (Muldbjerg and Trindhøj) and two are dressed in kilts (the two Borum Eshøj burials). This gives us three different outfits. The clothing of the Muldbjerg and Trindhøj individuals is very similar, i.e. a cap, a wrap-around, a cloak and shoes. Grave A from Borum Eshøj is also similar, but differs somewhat by the fact that a kilt was worn instead of a wrap-around. The deceased in grave B from Borum Eshøj differs the most in that he did not wear a cap.

There are two distinct outfits for the females. The first is characterised by long hair worn in an elaborate hairstyle covered by a hair-net. On the torso a blouse was worn, and this seems to be the typical blouse for the Middle Nordic Bronze Age. On the lower part of the body there was a skirt fastened by a belt on the hips. This produced a dress with some cloth hanging over the belt and hiding it. It would also have had a train of cloth, and some kind of leather shoes or sandals were worn. The second type of outfit comprised a blouse on the torso and a corded skirt worn from the hips, and in contrast to the first type of outfit, this costume seems to have been accompanied by short hair.

There is nothing in either the clothing or the artefacts that would hinder movements for the males. The only thing that might somewhat encumber a moving individual is the heavy cloak of the Trindhøj man. The only visual body modification that can be traced is that the men seem to have had long hair and shaved cheeks. The importance placed on combs and razors could indicate a concern with cleanliness and therefore odour. The only effect of touch, except for the wooden sheath of the sword, is the wool in the clothing, and wool is a warm soft material. The rest of the bronze, wooden or bone objects are too small to make any significant impact in terms of hampering movement. The costume of the men should not have made any particular sounds, except for the possible sound the cape might have created when the man moved around.

The women have a wider variety of accessories associated with their costume than the men. They have large, heavy bronze ornaments like belt plates and neck-collars. All the women had combs fastened to the belt, or under the belt plates as in the cases of Egtved and Borum Eshøj grave C. The only garment that seems to have artefacts as a permanent part of the clothing is the Ølby burial, where the 125 bronze tubes appear to have been a permanent part of the corded skirt. As with the men, most of the women's artefacts are removable. For the women, movement would mainly have been restricted by the trail of the long skirt and the weight of the artefacts. This means that some of the women, like the Egtved individual, would have been able to move their body almost as freely as the men (even though the tightness of the corded skirt would have limited movement as well), whereas the women dressed in long skirts and/or heavy artefacts would have been more restricted in their body movements. The only visible body modification is the length and coiffure of the hair. The women wore clothes made out of the same material as the men, which would also have had a similar feeling when handled. The women, however, wore large pieces of bronze jewellery; this would have produced a very different sensation of touch.

A woman walking around wearing a big neck collar, a belt plate, four small tutuli, a dagger and c. 125 bronze tubes (the Ølby grave outfit) probably did not invite close physical contact. Her appearance would be very noticeable; one has the warm, softness of wool clothing contrasted with the shining cold metal. When it comes to the physical sensation of touch for the outfit/person, the women differ individually much more than the men did. This would have been dependent on the associated artefacts, whereas the men, except for their swords, only had discrete dress fittings. The jewellery associated with the women is much more noticeable, and the individual woman's wealth and gender status would have had a direct impact on the physical sensation of touch one would have experienced when she was in full costume. There is only one individual in this qualitative study who would have made a distinct sound when she was moving, i.e. the female buried in Ølby, but there are other graves with the same phenomenon. The other women would not differ much from the sound the men made when they were moving.

Appearances are then studied in four different case studies: the Copenhagen area, Hasselager parish, Schleswig area, and Wardböhmen and Bleckmar.

We can see clear differences in both male and female burial appearance within the regions. The visibility of the two biological sexes seen through the bronze material varies between the regions. In Scandinavia, when women are visible the differences are not that great in the different regions. The main difference here is that in the Schleswig area women are hardly visible at all in the grave material during Period II, when they reach peaks in terms of visibility in the other three case studies. The trends observed in the men also vary greatly. For example, many men are buried with more than one weapon in the Copenhagen and Schleswig areas, but are only buried with a few items both on Funen and on the Lüneburg Heath during Period II. However, the placement of the weapons and their relation to the body appears to be more standardised and is similar between Funen and the Copenhagen area and between the Schleswig area and the Lüneburg Heath. There seems to be a dramatic change between the fairly unified Sögel-Wohldede area during Period IB and the Schleswig and Lüneburg area during Period II. Despite this major change in burial traditions some of the older structures concerning how people relate to their objects seem to survive longer, and change only later.

One thing that clearly differs between the areas is how the head was dressed, i.e. what was put on it and what was done with the hair. In both south Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age burials (mainly seen in the oak-log graves) and on the Lüneburg

Heath we can see that there were at least two different ways within the cultures for women to wear their hair and adorn their heads. This is probably due to social roles and structures within the female variations of gender. However, the ways of dressing the female head differed between the two major groups. We can also see that there were probably differences in the male head gear between different groups. One can say that the structures of femaleness in both the Lüneburg Heath and the south Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age are similar to the wider European structure. However, there seem to be very different ways of how these two female categories are interpreted and the physical manifestation of this.

While we can see a basic similar structure - even if they are performed and interpreted differently - in the female burial, it is harder to see a basic male structure that crosses the border between the south Scandinavian Middle Bronze Age and the Lüneburg Heath. The male principle seems to be of a very different kind in southern Scandinavia, especially during Period II. The emphasis is on the male warrior and close range fighting technique, whereas the importance placed on the bow and arrow in the Lüneburg Heath seems to indicate a preference for another mode of fighting. To conclude we can therefore say that regional differences can clearly be seen in the appearance of both men and women between south Scandinavia and the Lüneburg Heath. However, even though regional differences exist within the south Scandinavian culture, these are revealed in the relation between the artefacts and the body rather than in different styles and types of artefacts.

Chapter 5 Male identity: united or separated?

Chapter 5 deals with the relationship between violence and the different genders. The focus is on the male ideal and its relationship to violence. Treherne's concept of a common ideal characterising the European male warrior elite is discussed. In this warrior ideal package accessories for grooming (for example combs of different materials, bronze tweezers, razors, mirrors and awls) play an important role. In short, one had to look the part. A wide definition is chosen to enable a discussion of the level of hostility and danger of physical violence in Bronze Age society.

Three different case studies are presented that discuss violence and masculinity from different angles. One section deals with the daggers in the female burials. This is followed by a discussion of the evidence for violence in Bronze Age society.

It has been suggested that a heroic era similar to the one in Greece existed during the European Bronze Age. Small-scale warfare and raiding by

small parties is seen as the general mode for engaging in conflict in Bronze Age Europe. The raids and killing that can, for example, be seen in Sund and Wassenaar indicate that Bronze Age society could be perilous and its networks had a fragile structure. The evidence suggests that Europe had a militaristic climate in this period, and travel must have been a risky business.

It seems likely that the graves show an idealised view of Bronze Age warfare, whereas the other remains, such as multiple burials and the skeletal remains, produce a different picture. Arrowheads are sometimes present in the graves as the weapon used to kill an individual, but this weapon is not common in the burial traditions in Period II. Maybe here we see the ideal meeting the reality? The ideal could at times have been the one shown by Treherne (1995), with men fighting men in honourable sword fights, as, for example, depicted in rock carvings, but the reality seems to have been much more brutal, with raids and the slaughter of men, women and children, young as well as old. The different case studies indicate that the risk of violence during the Middle Bronze Age varied between different areas. Few Middle Bronze Age individuals were completely safe from the threat of violent actions. This does not mean that the society was at war all the time. At certain times some areas seem to have been subjected to massive conflicts, such as southern Holstein during Period II, and these conflicts seem to have decreased during Period III, when they were replaced by an increase in intermarriage. Similarly, Gram County had a high percentage of weapons in the burials during Period II, which then decreased during Period III.

Chapter 6 Ageing in the Bronze Age

Growing up and growing old during the Bronze Age is the focus for this chapter. First the concept of life course/cycle is introduced. It is emphasised that the way we view people at different ages is a cultural construction that can vary between cultures and over time.

Discussing life course in the south Scandinavian Bronze is difficult due to the lack of skeletal remains. Material from Scania, from the parishes of Ingelstorp and Löderup, is used to show variations in how different ages were treated in burial practices from the Late Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age. It was shown clearly that fewer people had the right to be buried in the 'normal' Middle Bronze Age burial custom than in the other periods.

A study of age in Middle Bronze Age Europe indicates that infants appear not to have been buried in the same way as individuals of other ages. Infants are lacking from the material. It appears that one was treated as a full member of society from about the age of 14. Old women seem to have kept

their status, whereas there are weak indications that men might have lost status as they entered old age. These traits seem to be similar over a large part of Europe during the Middle Bronze Age.

Chapter 7 Valued as exchange?

Exchange, networks and movement

This chapter discusses travel in the Bronze Age, and therefore long distance contacts, based on the evidence of individuals buried with foreign objects. Both so-called foreign women and men, i.e. individuals buried in one area wearing the full costume of another area, as well as graves with both local and foreign artefacts are considered.

I have argued that travelling during the Bronze Age must have been full of risk and demanded a lot of knowledge and skills. One can therefore contend that longer journeys must have mainly been undertaken by groups of people, as suggested by the size of the Dover boat.

In this chapter it has been shown that there is good evidence for travel by both males and females, as well as different exchange networks. There seems to have been a change in the marriage pattern between Period IB and II. During the early phase marriage partners from farther away existed, e.g. between individuals from northern Germany and the Carpathian Basin, whereas from Period II the marriages seem to have occurred between and within northern Germany and southern Scandinavia.

Scandinavian men seem to have been more influenced by the Continental trends and structures than the men from the Lüneburg culture. In contrast to this, the Lüneburg female costume shared many traits with both northern and central Europe, and this is seen to a greater extent than for the Scandinavian women.

Deutsch Zusammenfassung

Kapitel 1: Social identity and social structure – a gender approach

Das Ziel dieser Arbeit gilt den Untersuchungen zu Gender und den Fragen der sozialen Identität in der mittleren nordischen Bronzezeit in Südkandinavien und Norddeutschland zwischen ca. 1600- ca. 1300 v. Chr.

Gender wird dabei als eine soziale Konstruktion basierend auf dem biologischen Geschlecht verstanden. Zwar sind bisher die Möglichkeiten der Geschlechtsdifferenzierung über das rein weibliche und männliche hinaus nicht ausgeschöpft, doch kann dies aufgrund des fehlenden Skelettmaterials in dieser Arbeit nicht weiter behandelt werden. Der Schwerpunkt liegt stattdessen auf der Unterscheidung von Männern und Frauen und deren unterschiedlichen Gender-Rollen in ihren verschiedenen Lebensstadien.

Es existiert bereits eine ausführliche Debatte darüber welche Artefakte in Beziehung zu Männern oder Frauen gestellt werden können. In dieser Arbeit sind die Artefaktkategorien wie folgt zugeordnet:

Südliches Skandinavien

Mann: Schwerter, Beile, Absatzbeile, Gürtelhaken, Rasiermesser, Pinzetten, Feurschlagsteine und Anhänger aus Schiefer.

Frau: Gürtelplatten, Halsringe, Halskragen und Bronzeblechröllchen.

Unisex: Dolche, Pfieme, Arm- und Fingerringe, Nadeln, Fibeln und Doppelknöpfe.

Niedersachsen

Mann: Beile, Dolche, Flintpfeilspitzen, Lanzenspitzen und verschiedene Nadeltypen

Frau: Radnadeln, Bronzeblechröllchen, Halskragen, Halsringe, Bronzescheiben, bestimmte Armringe wie Rippenarmbänder, Bronzenägel, „Diamede“ usw.

Unisex: Lockenringe, verschiedene Arten von Armringen und einige Fibeln.

Zum besseren Verständnis und der Einheitlichkeit wegen: der Begriff Mittlere Bronzezeit steht im gesamten Text für den Zeitraum zwischen 1600 – ca. 1300 v. Chr.

Die Untersuchungen konzentrieren sich auf zwei Gebiete, das südliche Skandinavien und die

Lüneburger Kultur. Ersteres umfasst das südlichste Schweden, Dänemark und Schleswig-Holstein. Letzteres die Gebiete nördlich und östlich der Elbe bis hin ins nordwestliche Niedersachsen (Stader Geest) und in die Umgebung von Hannover.

Als wichtigste Quellengrundlage dienten für diese Arbeit verschiedene publizierte Kataloge mit mittelbronzezeitlichem Material aus dem Arbeitsgebiet (Aner&Kersten, Bergmann, Laux, Oldeberg, Piesker und Vandkilde).

Aufgrund der sehr guten Erhaltung einer Reihe von Bestattungen in Eichenkistensärgen, ist für die Mittelbronzezeit in Skandinavien die vollständige Grabausstattung belegt. Bis heute sind etwa 30 Hügel mit erhaltenen Eichenkisten ausgegraben. Vierundzwanzig der dendrodatierten Särge liegen innerhalb einer kurzen Zeitspanne von 50 Jahren. Schließt man die restlichen datierten Eichenkisten ein, erweitert sich die Zeitspanne auf 150 Jahre (vom 14. Jh. bis zum Beginn des 13. Jh. v. Chr.). Der Erhaltungszustand ist auf spezielle Umweltbedingungen zurückzuführen, die den Hügelkern mit einer Eisenschicht umkapselten, der so einen sehr nassen bzw. wasserdurchtränkten Boden mit sehr geringen Sauerstoffgehalt erzeugt. Die jüngsten Untersuchungsergebnisse zur Entstehung der Eisenkerne in den Hügeln der Mittelbronzezeit gehen von einem Redox-Prozess aus, der auf eine besondere Hügelbauweise beruht und für die Bildung des nach außen hin abgeschlossenen nassen Mileus verantwortlich ist. Diese spezielle Bauweise der Hügel scheint auf ein Gebiet in Süd- und Mitteldänemark begrenzt zu sein.

Das erste Kapitel endet mit einer theoretischen Diskussion über die Möglichkeit, ob man und wie wir Eliten in der Urgeschichte erfassen können und welche Aussagemöglichkeiten ein Grab bietet. Diese Doktorarbeit basiert auf der Annahme, dass Gräber etwas über das individuelle Leben des Verstorbenen aussagen. Ein weiteres Argument meinerseits beschreibt die Möglichkeit auch so genannte alte Theorien und Hypothesen der Geschlechterforschung mithilfe der „Gender-Perspektive“ zu verwenden. Für die Untersuchungen der Kontakte und Verbindungen zwischen verschiedenen Gruppen ist es hilfreich mit Modellen wie dem „peer polity interaction“ zu arbeiten. Wenn allerdings Hinweise auf Wechselbeziehungen auf einer mehr oder weniger gleichen Ebene fehlen, bietet

sich ein Model wie das „Zentrum-Peripherie Modell“ als nützliche Erklärung an. Auf jeden Fall ist es wichtig den beidseitigen Austausch von Beigaben und Ideen zu untersuchen und sich nicht auf Prestigegüter wie z. B. Bronze festzulegen. In dieser Arbeit werden beide Aspekte, Rang und soziale Kategorien berücksichtigt. Das Hauptaugenmerk richtet sich auf die höheren Schichten der Gesellschaft, die Hinterlassenschaften dieser Individuen bilden die Basis dieser Dissertation.

Kapitel 2 Chronology and time

Dieses Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit der Chronologie der Mittelbronzezeit. Zuerst wird die frühe skandinavische Chronologie besprochen. Das Ergebnis zeigt, in Übereinstimmung mit Vandkilde, die mehr oder weniger Gleichzeitigkeit der unterschiedlichen Bestattungstraditionen von Sögel-Wohlde und Valsømagle. Auch die Artefakte des Fådrup Stiles datieren in diese Phase (Periode IB). Die Lochhalsnadel findet sich in allen drei Traditionen, ebenso wie andere Artefakte aus europäischen Br B2 Kontexten. Um das Material aus der Lüneburger Heide einbeziehen zu können und sinnvolle Vergleiche zu ermöglichen, wurde die Chronologie von Laux untersucht und sowohl zur südsandinavischen als auch zur zentraleuropäischen Chronologie in Beziehung gesetzt. Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse sind in der Abb. 21 zusammengefasst.

Kapitel 3 Period IB: A time of social differences and the construction of gendered identities

Dieses Kapitel richtet den Schwerpunkt auf die zwei unterschiedlichen Bestattungssitten der Periode IB. Es beginnt mit einer kurzen Präsentation der Hintergründe dieser Periode einerseits und der Forschungsgeschichte der Gender-Studien andererseits. Anschließend wird die Anwesenheit bzw. Abwesenheit von weiblichen Bestattungen erörtert. Es lässt sich feststellen, dass nur zwei sicher bestimmbare Frauenbestattungen in der Periode IB existieren, beide mit fremdländischen Artefakten. Die Geschlechtszuordnung basiert allerdings nur auf der im Ursprungsgebiet gängigen geschlechtsspezifischen Ausstattung. Es gibt noch eine weitere wahrscheinliche Frauenbestattung sowie einige wenige mögliche Frauengräber. Die Analyse dieser zwei Bestattungssitten basiert auf 247 Gräbern der Periode IB aus dem weiträumigen Gebiet Nordeuropas (Appendix 1).

In der Bestattungssitte der Valsømagle Region, d. h. Blekinge, Schonen (Schweden), die Dänischen Inseln und Nordjütland, enthalten 69 Gräber Metallobjekte der Periode IB. Die am häufigsten auftretenden Objekte, die den Verstorbenen ins Grab folgen sind Dolch/Schwert gefolgt von Beilen und Lanzenspitzen. Man kann behaupten, dass die

meisten Männer einem Kriegerethos folgen. Allerdings ist auch ein anderes männliches Ideal von Bedeutung, bei dem keine Waffen zur Niederlegung gelangen sondern nur solche Artefakte, die zur Kleidung oder Körperpflege gehören, wie z. B. Gürtelhaken und Pinzetten. Die Gräber verteilen sich über ein großes Gebiet. Nur vier Kirchspiele weisen mehr als eine Periode IB Bestattung mit Metallgegenständen auf. Eine dieser vier Kirchspiele liegt zudem an der Grenze zwischen den zwei unterschiedlichen Bestattungstraditionen. Nur in der Gemeinde Bovense auf Fünen finden wir zwei Bestattungen mit drei oder mehr Metallobjekten als Beigabe. Dies ist das einzige Gebiet, indem der Wohlstand an Metallgegenständen möglicherweise über zwei Generationen hin andauerte. Das neu entstandene Kriegerideal basiert eher auf individuellen Leistung als Verwandtschaft oder Tradition. Dies mag den Mangel an weiblichen Bestattungen mit Metallbeigaben erklären. Diese Gruppe von Menschen war anscheinend für unterschiedliche kontinentale Einflüsse offen, welches aus dem Mangel an Einförmigkeit in den Beigabenensembles und der Kombination der Grabbeigaben hervorgeht.

172 Gräber der Sögel-Wohlde Region konnten analysiert werden. Hier finden sich Beigabenensembles wie Dolch/Schwert und Beile, welches die häufigste Kombination darstellt. Innerhalb der Gruppe lassen sich regionale Unterschiede z. B. in den Beiltypen oder in der Verwendung von Pfeil und Bogen feststellen. Die Gräber mit der größten Anzahl an Metallgegenständen sind zwei fremde Frauen (Fallingbøstel mit 107 Bronzeobjekten und Fahrenkrug mit seinen 7 Metallbeigaben). Die Region scheint eine große Anzahl an langlebigen Zentren aufzuweisen. In einigen kleineren Regionen liegen zwei bis vier Periode IB Bestattungen mit Metallbeigaben vor. Das deutet auf eine Art von struktureller Stabilität hin. Man könnte argumentieren, dass das Vorhandensein von Objektsätzen, selbst bei einer schwachen regionalen Variabilität, auf institutionalisierte hierarchische Strukturen oder Grundlagen hinweist.

Die Sögel-Wohlde Kultur scheint über mehr expansive kulturelle Ideologie als die Valsømagle Region zu verfügen. Dies zeigt sich z. B. in den Gräbern von Schneiderwald und Thierschneck (Kubach 1973), wo weit entfernt von ihrer Ursprungsregion einfachere oder mehr komplexe Sögel-Wohlde Bestattungen stattfanden. Im Lichte der Forschungen von Jockenhövel über die Fremde Frau in Zentraleuropa, können eine durchschnittliche Mobilität der Frauen von 50–200 km und einige wenige Wanderungen von über 200 km belegt werden (Jockenhövel 1991:60). Die vorliegenden Untersuchungen belegen in der Periode IB Kontakte zwischen unterschiedlichen Gebieten bis auf eine

Entfernung von 270 km. Das formalisierte System, welches möglicherweise weiter zurück in der Zeit der Sögel-Wohlde Region reicht, hat vermutlich die Akzeptanz des neuen Ausdrucks von Status und Identität, der im kontinentalen Europa entsteht, verhindert oder verzögert. Möglicherweise ist hier ein Übergang zwischen diesen beiden Kulturen - dem nicht starren, unternehmungsfreudigen Valsømagle Gebiet und der organisierten, regulierten und institutionalisierten Sögel-Wohlde Kultur - erfasst, die dann später zur Kultur der Nordischen Bronzezeit überleiten. Die Institutionen der Sögel-Wohlde Region werden langsam in der Valsømagle Region akzeptiert und die nachfolgenden Experimente der Valsømagle Region mit Form und Gestalt münden schließlich in einem neuen Stil der Bronzen, wie er so typisch für das südliche Skandinavien ist.

Kapitel 4 Gendered burial traditions: an analysis of local and regional patterns

Zu Beginn dieses Kapitels werden Gender, biologisches Geschlecht und der Körper diskutiert, gefolgt von einer kurzen Geschichte der Textilien. Dem schließt sich eine Erörterung über die Kleidung und Kostüme der bestatteten Individuen aus den Eichenkistensärgen an.

Die männliche Kleidung weist, wie es scheint, einige gemeinsame Charakterzüge auf. Alle tragen einen Art Mantel von ovaler oder nierenartiger Form. Ferner finden sich Reste von Kleidung oder Leder im Bereich der Füße, die auf eine Art Schuhe hinweisen. Die Kappe ist anscheinend eine allgemeine Eigenschaft der männlichen Bekleidung, nur im Grab B von Borum Eshøj fehlt eine solche Kappe. Als wichtigstes Unterscheidungsmerkmal zwischen den Männern lassen sich die zwei Kittel (Muldbjerg und Trindhøj) und die zwei in Kilts gekleideten Bestattungen (zwei aus Borum Eshøj) benennen. Somit liegen drei verschiedene Ausstattungen vor. Die Kleidung der Individuen aus Muldbjerg und Trindhøj gleichen sich: eine Kappe, ein Kittel, ein Mantel und Schuhe. Grab A aus Borum Eshøj ist ebenfalls ähnlich, unterscheidet sich allerdings in der Tatsache, dass ein Kilt statt eines gewickelten Kittels getragen wird. Der Bestattete im Grab B von Borum Eshøj unterscheidet sich vor allem durch das Fehlen der Kappe.

Bei den Frauen lassen sich deutlich zwei Ausstattung unterscheiden: Die erste Ausstattung ist durch das Tragen langer, aufwendig frasierter Haare und der Bedeckung mit einem Haarnetz charakterisiert. Am Oberkörper wurde eine Bluse getragen. Es handelt sich dabei wie es scheint um eine typische Bluse der mittleren nordischen Bronzezeit. Am Unterkörper befand sich ein Rock, der mittels eines Gürtels auf den Hüften befestigt wurde. Dabei

wird der obere Teil des Rockes umgeschlagen und verdeckt so den Gürtel. Der Rock ist lang und schleift über den Boden. Ferner wurde eine Art von Lederschuhen oder Sandalen getragen. Der zweite Ausstattungstyp beinhaltet eine Bluse als Oberteil und einen Schnurrock, getragen auf den Hüften. Im Gegensatz zum ersten Ausstattungstyp, scheint diese Tracht mit kurzen Haaren vergesellschaftet zu sein.

Es gibt keine Anzeichen, weder bei der Bekleidung noch bei den Artefakten, die die Bewegungsfreiheit der Männer einschränken. Das einzige was auf die Bewegungsfreiheit hinderlich wirkt ist das der schwere Umhang des Trindhøj Manns. Die einzige sichtbare und nachweisbare Veränderung am Körper, scheint dagegen die Langhaarigkeit und die rasierte Gesichtspartie zu sein. Die Bedeutung der Kämme und Rasiermesser weist auf ein Bedürfnis nach Reinlichkeit einhergehend mit dem nach Geruch hin. Die einzige Auswirkung auf eine Berührung sind, mit Ausnahme der hölzernen Schwertscheide, die Wolle der Kleidung - ein warmes und weiches Material. Die restlichen Bronze-, Holz- oder Knochenobjekte sind zu schmal um irgendwelche Auswirkungen in Form von Bewegungsbeeinträchtigung zu haben. Die Bekleidung der Männer sollte keine spezifischen Geräusche von sich geben, abgesehen vielleicht von dem Geräusch, das der Mantel erzeugt, wenn ein Mann sich umdreht.

Die Frauen weisen eine größere Varietät in den Accessoires ihrer Bekleidung auf als Männer. Sie haben großen, schweren Bronzeschmuck wie Gürtelplatten und Halskragen. Alle Frauen besitzen ein Kamm, befestigt am Gürtel oder unter der Gürtelplatte, wie im Fall von Egtved und Borum Eshøj Grab C. Das einzige Kleidungsstück, das Artefakte als feste Bestandteile der Bekleidung aufweist, ist die Bestattung von Ølby mit ihren 125 Bronzeblechrollchen, die Teil des Schnurrocks sind. Wie bei den Männern, sind die Artefakte der Frauen ansonsten abnehmbar. Die Bewegung der Frauen wird hauptsächlich durch das Schleifen des langen Rocks und das Gewicht der Artefakte eingeschränkt. Einige der Frauen, wie das Egtved Individuum, dagegen wären in der Lage ihren Körper nahezu ebenso frei zu bewegen wie die Männer (auch wenn die Enge des Schnurrocks die Bewegung eingrenzen könnte). Frauen mit den langen Röcken und/oder schweren Artefakten wären mehr in ihrer Körperbewegung eingeschränkt. Die einzige sichtbare und nachweisbare Veränderung am Körper ist die Länge des Haares. Die Frauen trugen Kleidung aus dem gleichen Material wie die Männer, welches sich in der Handhabung auch gleich anfühlt. Die Frauen trugen eine große Anzahl an Bronzeschmuck, der eine völlig andere Berührungserfahrung hervorruft. Eine Frau, die mit großen

Halskragen, einer Gürtelplatte, vier kleinen Tutuli, einem Dolch und 125 Bronzeblechröllchen (die Ausstattung des Ølby Grabes) herumläuft, lädt wahrscheinlich nicht zu einem engen physischen Kontakt ein. Ihre Erscheinung ist eine sehr beachtenswerte; die Wärme und die Nachgiebigkeit der wollenen Bekleidung kontrastiert mit dem glänzenden kalten Metall. Wenn es zu einem physischen Kontakt mit der Ausstattung bzw. Person kommt, unterscheiden sich die Frauen individuell wesentlich stärker als dies die Männer tun. Die Erfahrung ist abhängig von den assoziierten Artefakten, während die Männer, mit Ausnahme ihres Schwertes, eine eher „diskrete“ Ausstattung aufweisen. Der mit den Frauen verknüpfte Schmuck ist wesentlich bemerkenswerter. Der individuelle Wohlstand und Gender-Status hätte direkten Einfluss auf die physische Erfahrung bei einer Berührung, wenn sie in voller Tracht wäre. In dieser qualitativen Studie gibt es nur ein Individuum, welche ein deutliches Geräusch bei einer Bewegung verursachen würde, die weibliche Bestattung in Ølby. Es gibt allerdings andere Gräber mit gleichem Phänomen. Alle anderen Frauen unterscheiden sich nicht stark in ihren Bewegungsgeräuschen von den Männern.

Anschließend wird das Auftreten in vier unterschiedlichen Fallstudien beleuchtet: in der Region von Kopenhagen, dem Kirchspiel Hesselager, Schleswig sowie Wardböhmen und Bleckmar.

Es zeigen sich deutliche Unterschiede im Erscheinungsbild sowohl bei den männlichen als auch den weiblichen Bestattungen innerhalb der Regionen. Die Erkennbarkeit der zwei biologischen Geschlechter mithilfe des Bronzematerials, variiert zwischen den Regionen. In Skandinavien – wenn sich Frauen zeigen – sind die Unterschiede nicht so stark wie in anderen Gebieten. Der Hauptunterschied zeigt sich darin, dass Frauen in der Region Schleswig kaum im gesamten Material der Periode II fassbar sind, in den anderen drei Regionen aber den Höhepunkt hinsichtlich ihres Auftretens erreichen. Auch bei den Männern lassen sich Trends in ebenso starker Variabilität ablesen. Beispielsweise sind viele Männer mit mehr als einer Waffe in der Region von Kopenhagen und Schleswig in der Periode II bestattet, aber nur mit wenigen Beigaben sowohl auf Fünen als auch in der Lüneburger Heide. Die Niederlegung der Waffen und ihre Beziehung zum Körper erscheint aber mehr standardisiert und gleicht sich jeweils in den Gebieten Fünen und Kopenhagen sowie in Schleswig und der Lüneburger Heide. Ein dramatischer Wechsel scheint sich zwischen der ziemlich einheitlichen Sögel-Wohlderegion während der Periode IB und in den Regionen Schleswig und Lüneburger Heide in der Periode II aufzutun. Trotz dieses großen Wechsels in der Bestattungssitte bleiben anscheinend ein-

ige der alten Strukturen, bezüglich der Beziehung zwischen Objekt und Mensch, länger erhalten und ändern sich erst später.

Zu den Dingen, die deutlich zwischen den Regionen zu trennen sind, gehört die Kopfbekleidung, d.h. wurde etwas aufgesetzt oder etwas mit dem Haar getan. In beiden Regionen, der Mittelbronzezeit Südskandiaviens (überwiegend die Eichenkistensärge betreffend) und in der Lüneburger Heide, lassen sich letztendlich innerhalb der Kulturen zwei unterschiedliche Arten wie die Frauen ihr Haar tragen und ihre Köpfe schmücken unterscheiden. Dies bezieht sich wahrscheinlich auf die soziale Rolle und Struktur innerhalb der weiblichen Variationen von Gender. Die Art wie die Frauen ihren Kopf schmücken ist allerdings in den zwei Hauptgruppen verschieden. Wir können wahrscheinlich auch Unterschiede in der männlichen Kopfbedeckung zwischen unterschiedlichen Gruppen feststellen. Man kann sagen, dass die Strukturen der Weiblichkeit sowohl in der Lüneburger Heide als auch im südlichen Skandinavien in der mittleren Bronzezeit vergleichbar mit äquivalenten Strukturen des zentralen Europas sind. Es scheint allerdings sehr unterschiedliche Möglichkeiten zu geben diese zwei weiblichen Kategorien und ihre physische Manifestation zu interpretieren.

Während eine gemeinsame Struktur in der weiblichen Bestattung – selbst wenn sie unterschiedlich ausgeführt und interpretiert wird – erkennbar ist, ist es schwerer eine grundlegende männliche Struktur, die die Grenze zwischen der südskandinavischen Mittelbronzezeit und der Lüneburger Heide überschreitet, zu fassen. Das männliche Prinzip scheint im südlichen Skandinavien von einer ganz anderen Art zu sein, besonders in der Periode II. Die Betonung liegt auf dem männlichen Krieger und der Nahkampftechnik, während die Bedeutung, die dem Pfeil und Bogen in der Lüneburger Heide zugemessen wird, eine Vorliebe für eine andere Kampfesweise anzudeuten scheint. Zusammenfassend können wir daher sagen, dass die regionale Unterschiede zwischen Südskandinavien und der Lüneburger Heide deutlich im Erscheinungsbild von sowohl Männern als auch Frauen sichtbar werden. Auch wenn regionalen Unterschiede innerhalb der südskandinavischen Kultur existieren, offenbaren sie sich doch eher in der Beziehung zwischen Artefakten und Körpern als zwischen unterschiedlichen Artefakttypen und -stilen.

Kapitel 5 Male identity: united or separated?

Das Kapitel 5 dreht sich um die Beziehung zwischen Gewalt und den unterschiedlichen Geschlechtern. Der Fokus liegt auf dem Männerideal und des-

sen Verhältnis zur Gewalt. Das Konzept von Treherne von einem gemeinsamen Ideal, dass charakteristisch für die europäische Kriegerelite ist, wird erörtert. In diesem „Paket“ Kriegerideal spielen Accessoires der Körperpflege (z. B. Kämme aus unterschiedlichen Materialien, Bronzepinzetten, Rasiermesser, Spiegel und Pfrieme) eine wichtige Rolle. Kurz gesagt man muss seiner Rolle entsprechen. Es wurde hier eine weitergefasste Definition gewählt, um eine Erörterung über den Grad der Feindseligkeit und die Gefahr physischer Gewalt in der Gesellschaft der Bronzezeit zu ermöglichen.

Drei unterschiedliche Fallstudien werden präsentiert, die Gewalt und Männlichkeit aus verschiedenen Blickwinkeln besprechen. Ein Abschnitt beschäftigt sich mit den Dolchen in den weiblichen Bestattungen. Dem schließt sich eine Erörterung über die Notwendigkeit von Gewalt in der bronzezeitlichen Gesellschaft an.

Es wurde angedeutet, dass in der europäischen Bronzezeit ein heroisches Zeitalter, vergleichbar mit dem Griechenlands existiert hat. Kriegsführung im kleinen Rahmen und Überfälle von kleinen Trupps werden als mögliche Konfliktaktionen in der Bronzezeit Europas angesehen. Die Raubzüge und das Töten, welches in Sund und Wassenaar ersichtlich wird, zeigen, dass die Gesellschaft der Bronzezeit gefährlich und ihre Netzwerke von einer fragilen Struktur sind. Diese Aussage impliziert in dieser Periode ein militärisches Klima in Europa; reisen muss ein gefährliches Unternehmen gewesen sein.

Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass die Gräber eine idealisierte Sicht des bronzezeitlichen Kriegswezens widerspiegeln, hingegen andere Hinterlassenschaften, wie z. B. Mehrfachbestattungen und Skelettreste, ein anderes Bild ergeben. Pfeilspitzen repräsentieren manchmal in der Bestattungen die Waffe zum Töten eines Individuums, allerdings ist diese Waffe nicht üblich für die Bestattungssitten der Periode II. Vielleicht erfassen wir hier im Gegensatz zum Ideal die Realität? Das Ideal zu dieser Zeit kann dem von Treherne (1995) dargestellten entsprechen: einem Kampf Mann gegen Mann in einem ehrenhaften Schwertkampf, wie er z. B. aus den bildlichen Erzählungen der Felsbilder überliefert ist, doch scheint die Realität mit ihren Überfällen und dem Gemetzel von Männern, Frauen und Kindern, Jungen als auch Alten wesentlich brutaler gewesen zu sein. Die unterschiedlichen Fallstudien deuten darauf hin, dass das Risiko von Gewalt während der Mittelbronzezeit zwischen einzelnen Gebieten variiert. Wenige mittelbronzezeitliche Individuen sind unverseht und ohne Spuren von Gewalt. Das bedeutet allerdings nicht, dass die Gesellschaft ständig im Krieg lag. Zu bestimmten Zeiten scheinen einige Gebiete massiven Konflikten unterworfen zu sein, sowie das südliche Hol-

stein während der Periode II. Diese Konflikte haben im Laufe der Periode III offenbar abgenommen, sobald sie durch einen Anstieg von Mischchen abgelöst wurden. Ähnliches im Bezirk Gram, wo eine hohe Prozentzahl an Waffen in den Bestattungen während der Periode II auftritt, worauf ein Nachlassen in der Periode III folgt.

Kapitel 6 Ageing in the Bronze Age

Aufwachsen und alt werden in der Bronzezeit ist der Schwerpunkt dieses Kapitels. Als erstes wird das Konzept des Lebenslaufes bzw. Lebenskreises vorgestellt. Es wird hervorgehoben, dass es sich bei der Art unserer Betrachtung der Menschen unterschiedlichen Alters um ein kulturelles Konstrukt handelt, das sich kulturell und zeitlich unterscheidet.

Die Besprechung von Lebensläufen anhand der Bronzen des südlichen Skandinaviens ist aufgrund des Mangels von Skelettresten schwer. Das Material aus Schonen, aus den Kirchspielen Ingelstorp und Löderup, verdeutlicht die Variationen, die sich in der Behandlung der verschiedenen Lebensalter innerhalb der Bestattungspraxis vom Spätneolithikum bis in die späte Bronzezeit hinein zeigen. Es wird gezeigt, dass weniger Menschen das Recht einer „normalen“ mittelbronzezeitlichen Bestattung zustand als in anderen Perioden.

Nach einer Studie zum Alter in Europa während der Mittelbronzezeit, scheinen infans nicht in derselben Art und Weise bestattet zu werden wie Individuen anderer Altersgruppen. Infans fehlen im Material. Scheinbar gilt man erst im Alter von 14 Jahren als vollständiges Mitglied der Gemeinschaft. Alte Frauen haben offenbar ihren Status behalten, hingegen gibt es einige wenige Anzeichen, die darauf hindeuten, dass Männer mit dem Erreichen eines höheren Alters möglicherweise ihren Status verlieren. Diese Ergebnisse scheinen in großen Teilen Europas während der Mittelbronzezeit vergleichbar zu sein.

Kapitel 7 Valued as exchange?

Exchange, networks and movement

Im letzten Kapitel wird das Reisen in der Bronzezeit in Bezug auf Bestattungen von Individuen mit fremden Objekten untersucht. Beide sowohl die so genannte Fremde Frau bzw. der Fremde Mann, d. h. Individuen bestattet in einem Gebiet mit der vollen Ausstattung eines anderen Gebietes, als auch Gräber mit lokalen und fremden Artefakten, sind berücksichtigt.

Als Argument kann angeführt werden, dass reisen während der Bronzezeit ein großes Risiko gewesen sein muss und große Kenntnis und Fähigkeiten verlangte. Man kann darüber streiten ob längerer Reisen hauptsächlich von Gruppen unternommen wurden, wie es beispielsweise die Größe

des Boots von Dover suggeriert.

In diesem Kapitel ist gezeigt worden, dass es gute Belege für das Reisen von Männern und Frauen als auch für verschiedene Tauschnetzwerke gibt. Es scheint sich ein Wechsel in den Heiratsmustern zwischen der Periode IB und II abzuzeichnen. Während der frühen Phase existieren Heiratsmuster von weiter entfernten Orten, z. B. zwischen Individuen aus Norddeutschland und dem Karpatenbecken, während ab der Periode II Heiraten zwischen Norddeutschland und Südsandinavien aufzutreten scheinen.

Skandinavien ist anscheinend mehr von kontinentalen Einflüssen und Strukturen beeinflusst als die Menschen der Lüneburger Kultur. Im Kontrast dazu weist die Tracht der Lüneburger Frauen viele Spuren sowohl nord- als auch zentraleuropäischer Einflüsse auf, und dies in einem größeren Ausmaß als es sich für die skandinavischen Frauen nachweisen lässt.

Deutsche Übersetzung von Jutta Kneisel

Dansk Resumé

Kapitel 1 Social identity and social structure – a gender approach

Formålet med denne afhandling er at diskutere køn og emner, der relaterer sig til social identitet i den mellemste bronzealder i Sydsandinavien og det nordlige Tyskland mellem ca. 1600-1300 BC.

Køn opfattes som en social konstruktion, der er baseret på det biologiske køn. Da muligheden for "anderledes" køn i forhold til mand og kvinde ikke kan udelukkes, så er det alligevel ikke diskuteret her pga. mangel på fund af egnet skeletmateriale i gravene. Fokus rettes derfor i stedet på de mange variationer af mands- og kvinderoller der kan forekomme på forskellige livsstadier.

Der har eksisteret en lang debat om hvilke specifikke genstande, der kan relateres til mand og kvinde. I denne afhandling er der følgende genstandekategorier:

Sydsandinavien

Mand: sværd, økser, celte, bæltekroge, rageknive, pincetter, ildslagningssten af flint og skiffer-smykker.

Kvinde: bælteplader, halsringe, halskraver og bronzerør.

Unisex: dolke, syle, arm- og fingerringe, smykke-nåle, fibulaer og dobbeltknapper.

Nedre Sachsen

Mand: økser, dolke, pilespidser af flint, spydspidser og særlige nåletyper.

Kvinde: Hjulnåle, bronzerør, halsringe, halskraver, runde bælteplader, særlige arm-ringe som riflede armringe, bronzenitter, diademer osv.

Unisex: lockenring, forskellige armringe og nogle fibler.

For at være konsekvent bruges begrebet mellemste bronzealder om perioden mellem ca. 1600-1300 BC. gennem hele teksten.

Sydsandinavien og Lüneburg kulturen er de to hovedområder i dette studie. Det første område dækker over det sydlige Sverige, Danmark og Schleswig-Holstein. Det andet er området nord og øst for floden Elben, og det strækker sig ind i det nord-vestlige nedre Sachsen ned til Hannover området.

Størstedelen af materialet til dette arbejde kommer fra publicerede kataloger med materiale fra

mellemste bronzealder i de relevante områder (Aner & Kersten, Bergmann, Laux, Oldeberg, Piesker og Vandkilde).

På grund af den ekstraordinære bevaring af serier af egekistebegravelser har vi hele dragter fra den mellemste bronzealder i Sydsandinavien. Indtil dato er 30 høje blevet udgravet med velbevarede egekister. 24 af disse kister er dateret ved hjælp af dendrokronologi, og de placerer sig indenfor de samme 50 år. De sidste indenfor 150 år (fra det 14. århundrede og begyndelsen på det 13. århundrede BC). Den gode bevaringstilstand skyldes de specielle omstændigheder i højens vandmættede kerne. Højens kerne var omsluttet en naturlig jernkapsel, der holdt den vandfyldte jord med anæorobiske forhold inde. De seneste studier af jernkapslen i høje fra den mellemste bronzealder viser, at redox processer var skyld i dannelsen af et forseglede, vådt miljø. Den særlige måde at bygge høje på synes at være begrænset til områder i Syd- og Midtjylland.

Kapitel 1 slutter med en teoretisk diskussion om, hvis og hvordan man kan udskille eliter i forhistorien, og hvad en grav kan fortælle os. Denne Ph.D. afhandling baserer sig på, at grave kan sige noget om den afdødes individuelle liv. Jeg argumenterer også for, at det med "kønsrelaterede briller" er muligt at anvende "gamle" teorier og hypoteser i studier af køn. Når det gælder studiet af kontakt og relationer mellem forskellige grupper hjælper det at tænke i termer som "peer-polity-interaction" modellen; men hvis fundmønstrene ikke foreslår en ligevægtig relation må "center-periferi" teorien kunne anvendes. Det er dog vigtigt at undersøge genstande og ideer, der rejste i begge retninger og ikke kun at fokusere på et prestige objekt såsom bronzen. I denne afhandling bliver både rang og sociale kategorier undersøgt. Størstedelen af fokus vil være på den øverste sfære af samfundet, da det er deres efterladenskaber, der ligger til grund for denne afhandling.

Kapitel 2 Chronology and time

Dette kapitel diskuterer den mellemste bronzealders kronologi. Først diskuteres den tidlige skandinaviske kronologi og ifølge med Vandkilde, når der til den konklusion, at begravelsestraditionerne for Sögel-Wohlde og Valsømagle er mere eller mindre samtidige.

Genstandene i Fårdrupstilen tilhører også denne fase (periode Ib). Lochhalsnålen er fundet i alle tre fundhorisonter – ligesom andre fremmed fundtyper af de europæiske typer Br1 og Br2. For at kunne lave meningsfulde sammenligninger med Lüneburg Hedes materiale sammenlignes Laux's kronologi med både den sydiskandinaviske og central-europæiske kronologi. De vigtigste resultater kan ses refereret på figur 21.

Kapitel 3 Period IB: A time of social differences and the construction of gendered identities

Dette kapitel diskuterer periode IB med fokus på to forskellige begravelsestraditioner. Det begynder med en kort præsentation af både baggrunden for perioden og den kønsbaserede forskningshistorik. Herefter diskuteres tilstedeværelsen/fraværet af kvindelige begravelser. Konklusionen er, at der kun eksisterer to sikre kvindebegravelser fra periode IB – begge med fremmede genstande, der er bestemt som kvindelige genstande ud fra den kønsbetydning de har i oprindelsesområdet. Derudover er der også en mulig kvindebegravelse og nogle mulige kvindegrave. Analysen af de to begravelsestraditioner er baseret på 247 grave fra store dele af det nordlige Europa, som kan dateres til periode IB (appendix 1).

I Valsømagle regionen (Blekinge, Skåne, de danske øer og Nordjylland), som repræsenterer den ene begravelsestradition, er der 69 grave, som indeholder metalgenstande, der kan dateres til periode IB. Det mest almindelige objekt, som følger den afdøde i graven er dolk/sværd, efterfulgt af økser og spydspidser. Man kan sige, at flest mænd tilslutter sig krigermyten. Men dertil kommer et andet mandeideal, hvor der ikke var placeret våben i gravene, men kun kropsrelaterede klæder og kropsændrende genstande som bæltekroge og pincetter. Udbredelsen af gravene dækker et stort område. Kun fire sogne har mere end en periode IB grav med metalgenstande, og en af disse er på grænsen mellem to forskellige begravelsestraditioner. Kun i Boven-søgn på Fyn finder vi to begravelser med tre eller flere metalgenstande i gravene. Det er det eneste område, hvor vi ser metalrigdomme blive vedligeholdt over to generationer. Det nye krigerideal var skabt på baggrund af individuelle handlinger snarere end slægtskab og tradition, og det kan måske forklare fraværet af kvindegrave med metalgenstande. Denne gruppe mennesker synes også at have været åbne for europæisk indflydelse set i forhold til manglen på uniformitet i gravgaverne.

172 grave fra Sögel-Wohlde regionen er blevet analyseret. Her finder vi sæt-kombinationen med dolk/sværd og økse, som er den mest almindelige sammensætning. Der er regionale forskelle i gruppen, som kan ses i form af forskellige økse-

typer eller brugen af bue og pil. Gravene med det højeste antal af metalgenstande er de to fremmede kvinder (Fallingbostel med 107 bronzegenstande og Fahrenkrug med syv metalgenstande). Regionen synes at have flere centre med lang levetid, og i nogle mindre regioner er der to til fire periode Ib begravelser med metalgenstande. Dette indikerer en form for strukturel stabilitet. Man kunne argumentere for at tilstedeværelsen af sæt af genstande, selvom der er en lille regional variation, indikerer institutionelle hierarkiske strukturer/principper.

Sögel-Wohlde kulturen synes at have haft en mere ekspansiv kulturel ideologi end Valsømagle regionen. Dette kan for eksempel ses i gravene fra Schneiderwald og Thierschneck (Kubach 1973), hvor både simple og mere komplekse Sögel-Wohlde begravelser er fundet langt væk fra oprindelsesområdet. Dette kan ses i lyset af Jockenhövels studie af fremmede kvinder i Centraleuropa, der viser, at den gennemsnitlige bevægelse af kvinder er mellem 50-200 km, og der var kun få, der bevægede sig over 200 km væk fra deres oprindelsessted (Jockenhövel 1991:60). Det pågældende studie indikerer kontakter mellem områder mere end 270 km fra hinanden i perioden. Det formaliserede system, som måske rækker længere tilbage i tid i Sögel-Wohlde området, forsinkede eller forhindrede måske en accept af de nye måder at vise status og identitet, som blev skabt i Europa. Det er muligt, at det er sammensmeltningen af de to kulturer - det ikke fikserede, dristige Valsømagle område med det organiserede, regulerede og institutionaliserede Sögel-Wohlde kultur - der blev til den såkaldte Nordiske bronzealderkultur. Sögel-Wohlde regionens institutioner blev langsomt accepteret i Valsømagle regionen, og den efterfølgende eksperimenteren med form og udtryk i Valsømagle området førte til en ny form og stil for bronzegenstande, som er så karakteristisk for Sydiskandinavien.

Kapitel 4 Gendered burial traditions: an analysis of local and regional patterns

Dette kapitel begynder med en diskussion af køn, biologisk køn og kroppen, fulgt af en kort gennemgang af tekstil-historikken. Det efterfølges af en diskussion af individerne i egekestegravens klæder og dragter.

Mandens tøj synes at have nogle fællestræk. De bærer alle en form for kappe, oval eller nyreformet, og der var bevarede dele af tekstil eller læder ved fødderne, som indikerer, at de alle bar en form for sko. Huen synes at være en udbredt del af mande-dragten, hvor det kun er grav B fra Borum Eshøj, som mangler en hue. Den største forskel mellem mændene er, at to bærer slå-om dragter (Muldbjerg og Trindhøj) og to er klædt i kilte (de to Borum Es-

høj grave). De giver os tre forskellige klædedragter. Klædet fra Muldbjerg og Trindhøj individerne er meget ens, det vil sige en hue, en kappe, en slå-om dragt, en slængkappe og sko. Grav A fra Borum Eshøj ligner også, men afviger lidt pga. kilten i stedet for slå-om dragten. Den afdøde i grav B fra Borum Eshøj afviger mest pga. den manglende hue.

Kvinderne har to forskellige dragter. Den første er karakteriseret ved, langhårede kvinder bærer deres hår i en ekstravagant håropsætning dækket med et hårmotiv. På overkroppen bæres en bluse, og det synes at være den typiske bluse i mellemste bronzealder. På den nedre del af kroppen var et skørt fæstnet på hofterne. Det skabte en dragt med noget klæde draperet ud over bæltet, som dermed også skjulte det. Skørtet havde også et lille slæb, og til dragten hørte også sko eller sandaler. Den anden type dragt bestod af en bluse på overkroppen og et snoreskørt, som blev båret på hofterne, og modsat det første sæt, så blev dette båret af kvinder med kort hår.

Der er intet i mændenes dragter, der hindrer fri bevægelse. Det eneste stykke tøj, der kunne hindre bevægelse er måske Trindhøj mandens tunge overkappe. De eneste kropsændringer, der kan eftervises hos mændene er de glatragede ansigter og lange hår. Vigtigheden af kamme og rageknive kan indikere en bevidsthed om renlighed og dermed også kropslugt.

Den eneste effekt af berøring bortset fra den træagtige sværdskede kommer fra uldtøjet, og uld er varmt og blødt materiale. Genstande af metal, ben eller træ er for små til at have nogen særlig begrænsende effekt på bevægelsen. Mændenes dragter skulle ikke afgive nogen særlig lyd, bortset fra lyden af kappen der bevægede sig i takt med, at de gik omkring.

Kvinderne havde mange flere tilbehørsdele til dragten end mænd. De havde store tunge smykker, som bælteplader og halskraver. Alle kvinder havde kamme fæstnet til bæltet eller sat fast under bæltepladen som det er tilfældet i Egtvedgraven og Borum Eshøj grav C. Det eneste klædningsstykke som har permanente genstande integreret er snoreskørtet i Ølby begravelsen, hvor 125 bronzerør har været en del af et snoreskørt. Som det er gældende for mændene, så er de fleste af kvindens tilbehør ikke permanente. For kvinderne ville bevægelsen kun blive forhindret af det lange skørt og vægten af genstandene. Det betyder, at nogen af kvinderne som Egtvedpigen kunne bevæge sig næsten så frit som mændene (selvom snoreskørtet er stramt over knæene og forhindrede noget bevægelse), hvor kvinderne med lange skørt og/eller tunge genstande ville være stærkt begrænsede i deres kropsbevægelser. De eneste kropsmodifikationer er længden på håret. Kvinderne bar klæder lavet af det samme materiale som mænd, der havde

den samme stoflighed ved berøring. Men kvinderne bar store bronzesmykker, som gav en helt anden fornemmelse ved berøring. En kvinde som bar rundt på en stor halskrave, en bælteplade, fire små tutuli, en dolk og 125 små bronzerør (dragten fra Ølby graven) indbød formodentlig ikke til fysisk kontakt. Hendes fremtoning ville være bemærkelsesværdig med kontrasten mellem den varme bløde uld og det skinnende kolde metal. Når det kommer til følelsen af berøring af personen/dragten, så adskiller kvindedragterne sig meget fra hinanden langt mere end mandsdragterne. Kvindedragternes udtryk afhang af genstandene, hvor mændene kun havde diskrete genstande på dragten udover sværdet. Smykker associeret med kvinderne er langt mere bemærkelseskrævende, og den individuelle kvindes rigdom og kønsrelaterede status havde en anderledes påvirkning af følelsen af berøring, alt efter hvilken dragt hun brugte. Der er kun et individ i den undersøgte gruppe grave, som ville have frembragt en særlig lyd, når hun gik, nemlig kvinden fra Ølby graven, men der er andre grave med samme fænomen. De andre kvinders lyd ville ikke afvige meget fra den mændene frembragte, når de gik omkring.

Udseende studeres i fire forskellige "case-studies"; området omkring København, Hasselager sogn, Schleswig området og Wardböhmen og Bleckmar.

Vi kan se tydelige forskelle i både mandlige og kvindelige graves udseende i regionerne. Synligheden af de to biologiske køn set i forhold til bronzegenstandene varierer meget mellem regionerne. I Skandinavien, hvor kvinderne er synlige, er der ikke de store forskelle mellem regionerne. Den store forskel er, at kvinderne i Schleswig næsten ikke er synlige i gravmaterialet i periode II, hvor de i de andre tre regioner toppe, når det kommer til synlighed i netop den periode. Tendenserne observeret blandt mændene varierer også meget. For eksempel, så er mange mænd begravet med mere end et våben i Københavns- og Schleswig området, men mændene på Fyn og Lüneburg Hede er kun begravet med få genstande i periode II. Alligevel ser det ud til, at genstandenes placering i forhold til kroppen er mere standardiseret og ens mellem Fyn og Københavnsområdet og mellem Schleswigområdet og Lüneburg Hede. Der synes at have været en dramatisk ændring mellem det nogenlunde uniforme Sögel-Wohld område i løbet af periode IB og Schleswig og Lüneburgområdet i løbet af periode II. Trods denne store ændring i begravelsestraditionen, så synes måden, hvorpå folk relaterer genstande til den dodes krop ikke at ændre sig før senere.

En ting, som klart adskiller sig områderne imellem, er måden hovedet var udsmykket på, – det vil sige, hvad der blev placeret på det, og hvad der blev gjort ved håret. I begge Sydskandinaviske begravelser fra den mellemste bronzealder (hoved-

sagligt set i egekistegrave) og på Lüneburg Hede kan vi se, at der var mindst to kulturelle traditioner for, hvordan håret og tilbehør dertil kunne bæres. Dette skyldes sandsynligvis sociale roller og strukturer indenfor det kvindelige køn. Derudover varierer måden at udsmykke kvindens hoved meget mellem de forskellige grupper. Vi kan også se, at der sandsynligvis var forskelle på de mandlige hovedbeklædninger i de forskellige grupper. Man kan sige, at de strukturelle forudsætninger for at være kvinde i både Sydsandinavien og Lüneburg Hede i mellemste bronzealder ikke afviger meget fra den generelle struktur på europæisk plan. Alligevel synes der at være forskellige måder, hvorpå disse to kvindelige kategorier tolkes og den fysiske manifestation af dette.

Mens vi kan se en basal struktur – selv hvis det er udført og fortolket forskelligt – i den kvindelige begravelse, så er det sværere at se en fælles struktur i de mandlige begravelser, som krydser grænsen mellem sydskandinavisk mellemste bronzealder og Lüneburg Hede. De mandlige principper synes at være af en helt forskellig art i Sydsandinavien især i periode II. Vægten lægges på den mandlige kriger og nærkampsteknikker, hvor bue og pil indtager en betydningsfuld plads i Lüneburg Hede, og dermed indikerer en anden fortrukken kamp teknik. Som konklusion kan vi derfor sige, at regionale forskelle tydeligt kan ses på både mænd og kvinders udseende mellem Sydsandinavien og Lüneburg Hede. Selvom der ikke eksisterer regionale forskelle i den sydskandinaviske kultur, så viser de sig alligevel en smule i relationen mellem genstandene og kroppen i stedet for forskellige genstandstyper og stiludtryk.

Kapitel 5 Male identity: united or separated?

Kapitel 5 omhandler forholdet mellem vold og de forskellige køn. Fokuset er rettet mod det mandlige ideal og dets forhold til vold. Trehenes koncept af et almindeligt ideal, som karakteriserer den europæiske mandlige krigerelite diskuteres. I denne krigerideal-pakke spiller tilbehør til personlig pleje (f.eks. kamme af forskelligt materiale, bronzepincetter, rageknive, spejle og syle) en stor rolle. Kort fortalt så skulle man se godt ud. Der er valgt en bred definition for at muliggøre en diskussion af graden af fjendtlighed og fare for fysisk vold i bronzealderens samfund.

Der præsenteres tre forskellige casestudies, som diskuterer vold og maskulinitet fra forskellige vinkler. En sektion handler om dolke i kvindelige grave. Dette følges op med en diskussion af bevis for vold i bronzealderens samfund.

Det har været foreslået at en heroisk æra eksisterede under den europæiske bronzealder meget lig den i Grækenland. Krigsførelse i mindre skala og

krigstogter foretaget af mindre grupper ses som den fremherskende måde at engagere sig i konflikter i europæisk bronzealder. De togter og drab, som for eksempel kan ses i Sund og Wassenaar indikerer, at bronzealderens samfund kunne være farefuldt, og at dets netværk havde en skrøbelig struktur. Fundene foreslår, at Europa havde et militært klima i perioden, og rejser måtte have været en risikabel affære.

Det synes sandsynligt, at gravene viser en idealiseret syn på bronzealderens krigsførelse, hvor de andre jordiske rester, som fællesbegravelser og skeletrester, skaber et andet billede. Pilespidser er nogle gange tilstede i gravene som det våben, der er brugt til at dræbe individet i graven, men det våben er ikke almindeligt i periode II grave. Måske ser vi her idealet møde realiteten? Idealet kunne til tider være det ideal Treherne (1995) viser, hvor mænd kæmper mod mænd i ærefulde tvekampe, som dem vist på helleristningerne, men realiteterne synes at have været langt mere brutale, med krigstogter og nedslagtning af mænd, kvinder og børn, unge som gamle. De forskellige casestudies viser, at voldsrisikoen i mellemste bronzealder varierer alt efter hvilket område, man befandt sig i. Få bronzealderens samfund kunne vide sig sikre for voldelige handlinger. Det betyder ikke, at samfundet altid var i krig. I visse perioder synes nogle områder at have været udsat for massive konflikter, som det sydlige Holstein i periode II og disse konflikter synes at nedtrappe i løbet af periode III, hvor de erstattes af øget antal ægteskabsalliancer. På samme vis havde Gram herred en højere procentdel af våben i periode II end i periode III.

Kapitel 6 Ageing in the Bronze Age

Emnet i dette kapitel er at vokse op og blive gammel i bronzealderen. Først introduceret livs retning/cyklus konceptet. Det handler om, hvordan vi ser andre mennesker på forskellige alderstrin som en del af en social konstruktion, som kan variere mellem kulturer og over tid.

Det er svært at diskutere livsretning i sydskandinavisk bronzealder pga. mangel på skeletmateriale. Materialet fra Skåne, fra sognene Ingelstorp og Löderup, bliver brugt til at vise variationer i, hvordan forskellige aldre blev behandlet anderledes i begravelsespraktikken fra senneolitikum til yngre bronzealder. Det vises tydeligt, at færre mennesker havde lov til at blive begravet ifølge en "normal" mellemste bronzealder begravelsestradition i forhold til andre perioder.

Et studie af mellemste bronzealder i Europa viser, at spædbørn ikke bliver begravet som resten af individerne i andre aldre. Spædbørn mangler i materialet. Det synes som om, man blev betragtet som et fuldgyldigt medlem af samfundet, når man fyldte 14 år. Ældre kvinder synes at have beholdt de

res status, hvorimod der er svage indikationer af, at mænd måske mistede status, da de blev ældre. Disse træk synes at være ens i hele Europa i den mellemste bronzealder.

Kapitel 7 Valued as exchange?

Exchange, networks and movement

Dette kapitel diskuterer rejser i bronzealderen baseret på begravelser med fremmede genstande. Både såkaldte fremmede kvinder og mænd, det vil sige både individer begravet i område med en dragt og udstyr fra et andet område, og grave med både lokale og fremmed genstande tages med i overvejelserne.

Jeg har argumenteret for, at rejser i bronzealderen måtte have været fuld af fare og risici, og det har krævet mange evner og stor viden. Man kan derfor påstå, at længere rejser måtte fremføres af grupper af mennesker, som størrelsen på Dover-båden også indikerer.

I dette kapitel vises det, at der er fornuftige tegn på at både mænd og kvinder rejste, og at der var forskellige udvekslingsnetværk. Der synes at have været en ændring i ægteskabsalliancer mellem periode IB og II. I den tidlige fase eksisterede der ægteskabspartnere fra fjerne områder, som for eksempel mellem det nordlige Tyskland og Kapater bassinet, hvorimod i periode II, så synes ægteskaberne at være indgået mellem nordlige Tyskland og Sydskandinavien.

Skandinaviske mænd synes at blive mere influeret af kontinentale tendenser og strukturer end mænd fra Lüneburg kulturen. I kontrast til dette viser Lüneburg kvindernes dragter mange fælles træk med både det nordlige og centrale Europa og det i langt højere grad end hos Sydskandinaviens kvinder.

Oversættelse til dansk Jeanette Varberg

Abbreviations

- Aarbøger = Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed
 ATA = Antikvarisk-topografiska arkivet, Stockholm, Sweden.
 PBF = Prähistorische Bronzefunde published before 1990 by C.H. Beck-Verlag. Munich published 1991 and after by Franz Steiner-Verlag, Stuttgart.
 K.M Archiv = Archiv des Landesmuseums für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Schleswig, Schloß Gottorp (previous Museum vaterländischer Alterthümer, danach Museum vorgeschichtlicher Altertümer in Kiel).
 NM Archive = Archives in National Museum, Copenhagen.

Literature

- Albrechtsen 1962 Excavation report Nationalmuseet, Danske Afd., Danmarks Oldtid (Beretningsarkiv). Journalnr: Dnr 715/62. NM Archive.
- Alexandersen, Verner, Bennike, Pia, Hvass, Lone & Stærmoose Nielsen, Karen-Hanne. 1981. Egtvedpigen – Nye Undersøgelser. Aarbøger 1981:17-46.
- Almgren, Bertil. 1960. Hällristningar och bronsåldersdräkt. TOR VI:19-50.
- Andersson, Eva. 1996. Invisible Handicrafts. The General Picture of Textile and Skin Crafts in Scandinavian Surveys. Lund Archaeological Review 1995:7-20.
- 1999. Inslag, Nedslag, Uppslag. Den generella bilden av textil- och skinnhantverk i skandinaviska översiktsverk. In: Ceasar, C. et al. (eds.), Han Hon Den Det. Att integrera genus och kön i arkeologi, 154-165. University of Lund Institute of Archaeology Report series No. 65, Lund.
- Andersson, Lars. 1989. Pilgrimsmärken och vallfart. Lund studies in medieval archaeology 7. Almqvist & Wiksell International, Kumla.
- Aner, Ekkehard & Kersten, Karl. Die Funde der älteren Bronzezeit des nördlichen Kreises in Dänemark, Schleswig-Holstein und Niedersachsen. Volume 1-11 & 17-19. Karl Wachholz Verlag, Neumünster.
- Apel, Jan. 2001. Dagger Knowledge & Power. The Social Aspects of Flint-dagger Technology in Scandinavia 2350-1500 cal BC. Coast to coast-book 3, Uppsala.
- Arkæologiske udgravninger i Danmark. 1984 to 2001. Rigssantikvariens Arkæologiske sekretariat (ed.). Arkæologiske Næve, Copenhagen.
- Arnold, Bettina. 1995. 'Honorary Males' or women of substance? Gender, status, and power in Iron Age Europe. Journal of European Archaeology Volume 3(2):153-168.
- Artursson, Magnus. 2005a. Byggnadstradition. In: Lagerås, P. & Strömberg, B. (eds.), Bronsåldersbygd 2300-500f.Kr. Skånska spår – arkeologi längs Västkustbanan, 20-83. Riksantikvarieämbetet, Lund.
- 2005b. Gårds- och bebyggelsestruktur. In: Lagerås, P. & Strömberg, B. (eds.), Bronsåldersbygd 2300-500f.Kr. Skånska spår – arkeologi längs Västkustbanan, 84-159. Riksantikvarieämbetet, Lund.
- Arwill-Nordbladh 1994. Begriper vi begreppen? Om androcentrism i några vanliga analytiska begrepp. Meta.
- Asingh, Pauline. 1988. Diverhøj – A Complex Burial Mound and a Neolithic Settlement. Journal of Danish Archaeology 6 1987:130-154.
- Asingh, Pauline & Rasmussen, Marianne. 1989. Mange slags grænser. Et eksempel på regional variation i sydvestdansk ældre bronzealder. In: Poulsen, J. (ed.), Regionale forhold i Nordisk Bronzealder. 5. Nordiske Symposium for Bronzealderforskning på Sandbjerg Slot 1987, 79-88. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXIV, Aarhus.
- Audouze, Françoise and Büchschultz, Oliver. 1992. Towns, villages and countryside of Celtic Europe. From the beginning of the second millennium to the end of the first century. B.T. Batsford LTD, London.
- Bahnsen, Kr. 1886. Bronzealderns Mands- og Kvindegårde. Museets Forøgelse 1868-85. Aarbøger 1886:251-299.
- Baillie, Mike G.L. 1998. Evidence for Climate Deterioration in the 12th and 17th Century BC. In: Hänsel, B. (ed.), Mensch und Umwelt in der Bronzezeit Europas. Man and Environment in Bronze Age Europe, 49-50. Oetker-Voges Verlag, Kiel.
- Barber, Elisabeth J. Wayland. 1991. Prehistoric Textiles the Development of Cloth in Neolithic and Bronze Age with special reference to the Aegean. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Bartsch, A. 1837. Fragen, deren Beantwortung bei Aufgrabung vorschrittlicher Grabdenkmäler von Berein für meklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumsfunde gewünscht wird. Jahresbericht des Vereins für meklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumsfunde 2:154-157.
- Bátora, Jozef. 1995. Fayence und Bernstein im nördlichen Karpatenraum während der Frühbronzezeit. In: Hänsel, B. (ed.), Handle, Tausch und Verkehr im Bronze- und Früheisenzeitlichen Südosteuropa, 187-196. Südosteuropaschriften Band 17, Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa Band 11, Munich – Berlin.
- Bender Jørgensen, Lise. 1986. Forhistoriske Textilier i Skandinavien. Nordiske Fortidsminder Ser B 9. Det kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftsselskab, Copenhagen.
- 1990. A Bronze Age Oak Coffin from Nybøl, Denmark. Archaeological Textile Newsletter 10:11.
- 1992. North European Textiles until AD 1000. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- Bender Jørgensen, Lise, Munksgaard, Elisabeth & Stærmoose Nielsen, Karen-Hanne. 1984. Melhøj-fundet. En hidtil upåaet parallel til Skydstrup-fundet. Aarbøger 1982:19-57.
- Bender Jørgensen, Lise & Walton, Penelope. 1986. Dyes and Fleece Types in Prehistoric Textiles from Scandinavia and Germany. Journal of Danish Archaeology 5:177-188.
- Bennike, Pia. 1985. Palaeopathology of Danish Skeletons A Comparative Study of Demography, Disease and Injury. Akademisk Forlag, Copenhagen.
- Bergerbrant, Sophie. 1994. Båtgravfältet i ett genusperspektiv. Unpublished undergraduate thesis, Department of Archaeology, Stockholm University.
- 1995. Den arkeologiska könsbestämningen av gravar på det vikingatida Kopparsvikgravfältet. Unpublished master thesis, Department of Archaeology, Stockholm University.
- 1996. Appearance of Men and Women During Early Scandinavian Bronze Age. Unpublished M.Phil. Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Cambridge University.
- 1999. Body, Sex and Gender – Constructing Appearance in Archaeology. In: Nordström, P. & Svedin, M. (eds.), Aktuell Arkeologi VII:147-154. Stockholm Archaeological Reports Nr. 36, Stockholm.
- 2005a. Fremde Frau eller i lånade fjädrar? Interaktion mellan Sydskandinavien och norra Europa under period I och II. In: Golhahn, Joakim (ed.), Mellan sten till järn Rapport från det 9:e Nordiska bronsålderssymposiet, Göteborg oktober 2003-10-09/12:229-240. Gotarc Series C Arkeologiska Skrifter no 59, Gothenburg.

- 2005b. Female Interaction during the Early and Middle Bronze Age Europe, with special Focus on Bronze Tubes. In: Hjørungdal, Tove (ed.), *Gender locales and local genders in Archaeology*. BAR International Series 1425:13-23.
- manuscript. Weaving identity – cultural belonging and cultural change, 1600-1100 BC in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany.
- Bergmann, Joseph. 1952. Zur frühen und älteren Bronzezeit in Niedersachsen. *Germania* 30:21-30.
- 1970. Die ältere Bronzezeit Nordwestdeutschland. Neue Methoden zur ethnischen und historischen Interpretation urgeschichtlicher Quellen. Teil A + B. Kasseler Beiträge zur vor- und Frühgeschichte 2. N. G. Elwert Verlag, Marburg.
- Berntsson, Anders. 2005. Två män i en båt – om människans relation till havet i bronsåldern. University of Lund, Institute of Archaeology, Report Series No 93, Lund.
- Blichke, Jobst. 2000. Die Sprache der Toten. Grabbeigaben und ihr gesellschaftlicher Kontext. *Mitteilungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* vol 21: 29-36.
- Boas, Niels Axel. 1983. Egebjerg A Settlement from the Early Bronze Age in East Jutland. *Journal of Danish Archaeology* 2:90-101.
- Boivin, Nicole. Life rhythms and floor sequences: excavating time in rural Rajasthan and Neolithic Çatalhöyük. In: Gilchrist, R. (ed.), *World Archaeology* 31(3):367-388.
- Bokelmann, Klaus. 1977. Ein Grabhügel der Stein- und Bronzezeit bei Rastorf, Kreis Plön. *Offa* 34:90-99.
- Bolin, Hans. 1999. Kulturlandskapets korsvägar. Mellersta Norrland under de två sista årtusendena f.Kr. *Stockholm Studies in Archaeology* 19, Stockholm.
- Boye, Vilhelm. 1896 (reprint 1986). *Fund af Egekyrker fra Bronzealderen i Danmark*. Wormianum.
- Breuning-Madsen, Henrik & Holst, Mads Kähler. 1995. Genesis of Iron Pans in Bronze Age Mounds in Denmark. *Journal of Danish Archaeology* 11:80-86.
- 1998. Recent Studies on the Formation of Iron Pans around the Oaken Log Coffins of the Bronze Age Burial Mounds of Denmark. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 25:1103-1110.
- Breuning-Madsen, Henrik, Holst Mads Kähler & Rasmussen, Marianne. 2001. The Chemical Environment in a Burial Mound Shortly after Construction - An Archaeological – Pedological Experiment. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 28:691-697.
- Broholm, Hans Christian. 1943. *Danmarks Bronzealder* volume I & II. Nyt Nordisk Forlag, Arnold Busck, Copenhagen.
- Broholm, Hans Christian & Hald, Margrethe. 1939. Skrydstrupfundet. *Nordiske Fortidsminder* III(2):1-116.
- 1940. Costumes of the Bronze Age in Denmark. Arnold Busck, Copenhagen.
- 1948. *Bronze Age Fashion*. Copenhagen.
- Brøndsted, Johannes. 1930. Excavation report Nationalmuseet, Danske Afd., Danmarks Oldtid (Beretningssarkiv). *Journal* Nr. Dnr 690/30. NM Archive.
- Brown, Judith K. 1982. Cross-cultural Perspectives on Middle-aged Women. *Current Archaeology* 23(2): 143-156.
- Burenhult, Göran. 1991. *Arkeologi i Sverige 2. Bönder och bronsåldersjutar. 2:a omarbetade upplagan*. AB Wiken, Höganäs.
- Butler, Jay J. 1986. Drouwen: End of a "Nordic" Rainbow? *Paleohistoria* 28:133-168.
- Butler, Judith. 1993. *Bodies that matter. On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*. Routledge, London.
- Christensen, Kjeld. 1998. Three-ring Dating of Bronze Age Oak Coffins from Denmark. In: Jensen, J. (supervising ed.), *Gods and Heroes of the Bronze Age Europe at the Time of Ulysses*, 110-113. Dr. Cantz'sche Druckerei, Ostfildern-Ruit.
- 2006. Dendrochronological Dating of Bronze Age Oak Coffins from Denmark & Schleswig. *Acta Archaeologica* 77, *Acta Archaeologica Supplementa* 7:163-246.
- Clark, Peter. 2005. Shipwrights, Sailors and Society in the Middle Bronze Age of NW Europe. *Journal of Wetland Archaeology* 5:87-96.
- Coles, John M. 2000. *Patterns in a Rocky Land: Rock-Carvings in South-Western Uppland, Sweden*. Aun 27. Uppsala.
- Coles, John M. & Harding, Anthony F. 1979. *The Bronze Age in Europe. An introduction to the prehistory of Europe c.2000-700 BC*. Methuen & Co LTD, London.
- Comis, Sandra Y. 2003. Prehistoric Garments from the Netherlands. In: Bender Jørgensen, L., Banck-Burgess, J. & Rast-Eicher, A. (eds.), *Textilen aus Archäologie und Geschichte*. Festschrift Klaus Tidow, 193-204. Wachholz Verlag, Neumünster.
- Conkey, Margaret W. & Gero, Joan M. 1991. Tensions, Pluralities, and Engendering Archaeology: An Introduction to Women and Prehistory. In: Conkey, M. & Gero, J. (eds.), *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, 3-30. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Cosack, Erhard & König, Veronica. 2004. Überplügte spätneolithische und bronzezeitliche Hügelgräber bei Betheln, Ldkr. Hildesheim. *Nachrichten aus Niedersachsen Urgeschichte* 73:49-76.
- Croom, Alexandra T. 2000. *Roman Clothing and Fashion*. Tempus Publishing Ltd, Stroud.
- Damm, Charlotte. 1991. From Burial to Gender Roles: Problems and Potentials in Post-Processual Archaeology. In: Walde, D. & Willows, N. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Gender. Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Chacmool Conference*, 130-135. Calgary.
- Daum, Marion. 2000. Fremde Personen – Mobilität in der Bronzezeit. In: Mühldorfer, B. & Zeitler, J. (eds.), *Mykene Nürnberg Stonehenge Handel und Austausch in der Bronzezeit*, 233-238. Naturhistorische Gesellschaft Nürnberg band 43. VKA-Verlag, Führt.
- Davis-Kimball, Jeannine. 1997. Warrior Women of the Eurasian Steppes. New evidence suggests that tales of Amazon warriors may be more than mere legend. *Archaeology* January/February:44-48.
- 2002. *Warrior Women: an archaeologist's search for history's hidden heroines*. Warner books, New York.
- Díaz-Andreu, Margarita & Sørensen, Marie Louise Stig. 1998. Excavating Women Towards an engendered history of archaeology. In: Díaz-Andreu, M. & Sørensen, M.L.S. (eds.), *Excavating Women A history of women in European archaeology*, 1-28. Routledge, London.
- Earle, Timothy. 1997. *How Chiefs came to Power. The political Economy in Prehistory*. Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Edenmo, Roger. 2000. Projekt Uppdragsarkeologi Gylleundersökningarna Förändringar i gravskick och bosättning under sten- och bronsålder i Skåne Rapport 2000:2 Riksantikvarieämbetet, Kunskapsavdelningen, Stockholm.
- Ehlers, Solveig K. 1996. Die Textilien aus dem Schwertgrab bei Quelkhorn, Ldkr. Verden. *Die Kunde* N.F. 47:237-241.
- 1998. *Bronzezeitliche Textilien aus Schleswig-Holstein. Eine Technische Analyse und Funktionsbestimmung*. Dissertation.

- on zur Erlangung des Doktorsgrad der Philosophischen Fakultät der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel.
- Eicher, Joanne B. & Roach-Higgins, Mary Ellen. 1992. Definition and Classification of Dress. Implications for Analysis of Gender Roles. In: Barnes, R. & Eicher, J. (eds.), *Dress and Gender. Making and Meaning*, 8-28. Berg, New York.
- Ekholm, Gunnar. 1911. Upplands bronsålder. *Upplands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift* XXVII:218-254.
- Elias, Norbert. 1991. *Från Svärdet till Plikten Samhällets förvandlingar*. Atlantis, Stockholm.
- Eriksson, Gunilla. 2003. Norm and difference Stone Age dietary practice in the Baltic region. *Theses and Papers in Scientific Archaeology* 5, Stockholm.
- Eskildsen, Lise & Lomborg, Ebbe. 1976. Giftetanker. *Skalk* 1976(5):18-26.
- 1977. Skørte-jægere. *Skalk*. 1977(4):3-6.
- Ethelberg, Per. 1991. udgravningsberetning. *Haderslev Museum Jour.* nr:1063.
- 2000. Bronzealderen. In: Madsen, L. S. & Madsen, O. (eds.), *Det Sønderjyske Landbrugs Historie Sten- og Bronzealderen*, 135-280. Haderslev Museum & Historisk Samfund for Sønderjylland, Haderslev.
- Feldt, Björn. 2005. Synliga och osynliga gränser Förändringar i gravritualen under yngre bronsålder – förromersk järnålder i Södermanland. *Stockholm Studies in Archaeology* 37, Stockholm.
- Feveile, Claus & Bennike, Pia. 2002. Lustrupholm Et brandgravfelt fra ældre bronzealder under flad mark. *Kuml* 2002:109-141.
- Finley, Nyrre. 2000. Outside of life and death: traditions of infant burial in Ireland from cillín to cist. *World Archaeology* vol 31(3):407-422.
- Floderus, Erik. 1931. Ett gotländskt ekkistfynd från bronsåldern. *Fornvännen* 26(5):284-290.
- Foucault, Michel. 1979. *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction*. Penguin Books Ltd.
- Forssander, John-Elof. 1936. *Der Ostskandinavische Norden während der älteren Metallzeit Europas*. Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis XXII, Lund.
- Freudenberg, Mechthild. 2007. Ein Fürst in der Provinz? Grab und Kultanlage von Hüsby, In: Freudenberg, M. (ed.), *Tod und Jenseits. Totenbrauchtum in Schleswig-Holstein von der Jungsteinzeit bis zur Eisenzeit*. Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloß Gottorf, Schleswig.
- Fyllingen, Hilde. 2002. *The use of Human Osteology in the Analysis of Ritual and Violence During the Early Bronze Age, - A case study from Nord-Trøndelag*. Unpublished Cand. Philol. Thesis, Department of Archaeology University of Bergen.
- 2003. Society and Violence in the Early Bronze Age: An Analysis of Human Skeletons from Nord-Trøndelag, Norway. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 36(1):27-43.
- 2006. Society and the Structure of Violence: A Story Told by Middle Bronze Age Human Remains from Central Norway. In: Otto, T., Thrane, H. & Vandkilde, H. (eds.), *Warfare and Social Anthropological Perspectives*, 319-329. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- Gamble, Clive. 1982. Leadership and 'surplus' production. In: Renfrew, C & Shennan, S. J. (eds.), *Ranking, resources and exchange. Aspects of the archaeology of the early European society*, 100-105. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Genz, Hermann & Schwarz, Ralf. 2004. Chronologieta-belle Europa und Mittelmeerraum. In: Meller, H. (ed.), *Der geschmiedete Himmel. Die weite Welt im Herzen Europas vor 3600 Jahren*, 14-15. Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte Halle, Konrad Thesis Verlag GmbH, Stuttgart.
- Gibbs, Liv. 1987. Identifying gender representation in the archaeological record: a contextual study. In: Hodder, I. (ed.), *The archaeology of contextual meanings*, 79-89. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Gilchrist, Roberta. 1994. *Gender and Material Culture: The archaeology of religious women*. Routledge, London.
- 1995. *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism*. Leicester University Press, London.
- 1999. *Gender and archaeology: Contesting the past*. Routledge, London.
- (ed.). 2000a. *Human Lifecycles*. *World Archaeology* 31(3).
- 2000b. Archaeological biographies: realizing human lifecycles, -courses and- histories. In: Gilchrist, R. (ed.), *World Archaeology* 31(3):325-328.
- 2003. Introduction: towards a social archaeology of warfare. *World Archaeology* 35(1):1-6.
- Glob, Peter Vilhelm. 1970. *Højfolket*. Copenhagen.
- Goldhahn, Joakim. 2005. *Från Sagaholm till Bredarör – hållstudier 2000-2004*. Gotarc Serie C. Arkeologiska Skrifter No 62. Göteborgs universitet, Gothenburg.
- Goldstein, Joshua S. 2001. *War and gender. How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Göransson, Eva-Marie Y. 1999. *Bilder av kvinnor och kvinnlighet. Genus och kroppsspråk under övergången till kristendomen*. *Stockholm Studies in Archaeology* 18, Stockholm.
- Graner, Gunlög & Karlenby, Leif. 2007. Keeping up on Appearances – On the Northern Frontier in Scandinavian Funnel Beaker Times. In: Cornell, P. & Fahlander, F. (eds.), *Encounters/Materialities/Confrontations: Archaeologies of Social Space and Interaction*, 150-164. Cambridge Scholar Press, Newcastle.
- Gräslund, Bo. 1974. Relativ datering Om kronologisk metod i nordisk arkeologi. *TOR* XVI.
- Greenfield, Patricia. 2000. Children, material culture and weaving Historical change and developmental change. In: Sofaer Derevenski, J. (ed.), *Children and Material Culture*, 72-86. Routledge, London.
- Gröhn, Anna. 2004. Positioning the Bronze Age in social theory and research context. *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia Series in 8° No 47*, Almqvist & Wiksell International, Lund.
- Guliaev, V.I. 2003. Amazons in the Schythian: new finds at the Middle Don, Southern Russia. *World Archaeology* 35(1):112-125.
- Günter, Klaus. 1974. Eine Frühbronzezeitliche Dolchklinge aus Bierde Kreis Minden. In: Alföldi, A. & Tackenberg, K. (eds.), *Festgabe Kurt Tackenberg zum 75. Geburtstag*, 57-67. Rudolf Habelt Verlag GMBH, Bonn.
- Gustavsson, Stefan. 1998. *The Earliest Economy in South and Central Sweden during the Bronze Age. A Study Based on Carbonised Botanical Evidence*. *Current Swedish Archaeology* 6:63-72.
- Hachmann, Rolf. 1957. *Die frühe Bronzezeit im westlichen Ostseegebiet und im Mittel- und Südosteuropäischen Beziehungen*. Chronologische Untersuchungen. Beihefte zum Atlas der Urgeschichte 6. Flemmings Verlag, Kartographisches Institute, Hamburg.
- Hagen, Anders. 1967. *Norges Oldtid*. J.W. Cappelenes Forlag, Oslo.

- Hägg, Inga. 1968. Some notes on the Origin of the Peplos-Type Dress in Scandinavia. *TOR XII* (1967-68):81-127.
- 1995. Recession of Bender Jørgensen North European Textiles until AD 1000. In *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 70:136-144.
- 1996a. Textil und Tracht als Zeugnis von Bevölkerungsverschiebung. *Archäologische Informationen* 19(1&2):135-147.
- 1996b. Mikrostratigraphische Analyse von Geweberesten auf Armspiralen aus einem Grabhügel bei Quelkhorn, Lkdr. Verden. *Die Kunde N. F.* 47:223-236.
- Håkansson, Inger. 1985. Skånes gravfynd från äldre bronsålder som källa till studiet av social struktur. *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia Series in 8°*. Nr 14, Lund.
- Halstead, Paul & O'Shea, John. 1982. A friend in need is a friend indeed: social storage and the origin of social ranking. In: Renfrew, C & Shennan, S. J. (eds.), *Ranking, resources and exchange. Aspects of the archaeology of the early European society*, 92-99. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Hänsel, Bernard. 1968. Beiträge zur Chronologie der Mittleren Bronzezeit im Karpatenbecken. Part I und II. Dr Rudolf Habelt Verlag GMBH, Bonn.
- Hansen, Folke. 1938. Skånska bronsåldershögar. Gleerupska univ.-bokhandeln, Lund.
- Harald Hansen, Henny. 1978. Skydstrup-kvindens dragt. *Aarbøger* 1978:139-149.
- Härde, Andreas. 2006. Funerary Rituals and Warfare in the Early Bronze Age Nitra Culture of Slovakia and Moravia. In: Otto, T., Thrane, H. & Vandkilde, H. (eds.), *Warfare and Social Anthropological Perspectives*, 341-382. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- Hårdh, Birgitta. 1993. Grunddragen i Nordens förhistoria. In: *Institute of archaeology Report Series No. 47*, University of Lund, Lund.
- Harding, Anthony F. 1999. Warfare: a defining characteristic of Bronze Age Europe? In: Carman, C. & Harding, A. (eds.), *Ancient Warfare Archaeological Perspective*, 157-173. Sutton Publishing, London.
- 2000. *European Societies in the Bronze Age*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Harrison, Dick. 1998. *The Age of Abbesses and Queens: Gender and Political culture in Early Medieval Europe*. Nordic Academic Press, Lund.
- Hauptman Wahlgren, Katherine. 2002. Bilder av betydelse: Hällristningar och bronsålderslandskap i nordöstra Östergötland. *Stockholm Studies in Archaeology* 23. Bricoleur Press, Lindome.
- Hedeager Madsen, Anne. 1988. The wool Material in the Archaeological Textile Finds. In: *Archaeological Textile. Report from the 2nd NESAT Sympoium 1984*, 247-250. Copenhagen.
- Hedenstierna-Jonson, Charlotte. 2006. *The Birka Warrior: The material culture of a martial society. Theses and Papers in Scientific Archaeology* 8, Stockholm.
- Herner, Elisabeth. 1987. Profession med tradition. Teknisk-kvalitativ analys av den äldre bronsålderns spiralornamentik, dess central- och lokalproduktion. *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia Series in 8°* Nr. 15.
- Hildebrand, Hans. 1897. *Fynd af en gammal grafkista af ek*. Månadsbladet 91-94:99-100.
- Hjørungdal, Tove. 1994. Poles Apart. Have There Been Any Male and Female Graves? *Current Swedish Archaeology* 2:141-149.
- Hodder, Ian. 1982. The identification and interpretation of ranking in prehistory a contextual perspective. In: Renfrew, C & Shennan, S. J. (eds.), *Ranking, resources and exchange. Aspects of the archaeology of the early European society*, 150-154. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Holck, Per. 1987. Kråkerøymannen – et gammelt kriminalmysterium. *Borgarsyssels Museum årbok* 2:31-42.
- Hollimon, Sandra E. 2001. Warfare and Gender in the Northern Plains: Osteological Evidence of Trauma Reconsidered. In: Arnold, B. & Wicker, N.L. (eds.), *Gender and the Archaeology of Death*, 179-193. Altamira Press, Walnut Creek.
- Holst, Mads Kähler, Breunning-Madsen, Henrik & Rasmussen, Marianne. 2001. The South Scandinavian barrows with well-preserved oak-log coffins. *Antiquity* 75(287):126-136.
- Holst, Mads Kähler, Breuning-Madsen, Hennrik, Laursen, Steffan, Johansen, Kasper, Hermansen, Martin. 2006. Boring Bronze Age Barrow. In: Šmejda, L. (ed.), *Archaeology of Burial Mounds*, 63-69. Archaeologica, Plzen.
- Hübner, Eva. 2005. *Jungneolithische Gräber auf der Jütischen Halbinsel. Typologische und chronologische Studien zur Einzelgrabkultur I Text*. Nordiske Fortidsminder Serie B, Band 24:1. Det kongelige nordiske oldskriftselskab, Copenhagen.
- Hundt, Hans-Jürgen. 1958. *Katalog Straubing I. Die Funde der Glockenbecherkultur und der Straubinger Kultur*. Verlag Michael Lassleben Kallmünz, Munich.
- Hvass, Lone. 1981. *Egtvedpigen*. Sesam a/s, Viborg.
- Innerhofer, Florian. 2000. *Die mittelbronzezeitlichen Nadeln zwischen Vogesen und Karpaten. Studien zur Chronologie, Typologie und regionalen Gliederung der Hügelgräberkultur 1 & 2*. Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie Aus dem Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie der Freien Universität Berlin. Band 71. Dr. Rudolf Habelt GHB, Bonn.
- Jacob-Friesen, Gernot. 1967. *Bronzezeitliche Lanzen spitzen Norddeutschland und Skandinaviens Text & Tafelteil*. Veröffentlichungen der urgeschichtlichen Sammlungen des Landesmuseums zu Hannover 17. August Lax Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim.
- Jennbert, Kristina. 1993. Släktens hägkomst. Om bruket av bronsåldershögar. In: Larsson, L. (ed.), *Bronsålderns gravhögar Rapport från ett symposium i Lund 15.XI-16.XI 1991*, 69-78. University of Lund Institute of Archaeology Report Series No. 48. Lund.
- Jensen, Jørgen. 1982. *The prehistory of Denmark*. Methuen & Co, London.
- 1993. Dendrochronology of the Danish Oak Coffin Graves. In: Larsson, L. (ed.), *Bronsålderns gravhögar*, 187-190. University of Lund Institute of Archaeology Report Series No. 48. Lund.
- 1998. *Manden i kisten hvad bronsælderns gravhøjegemte*. Gyldendal, Copenhagen.
- 2002. *Danmarks Oldtid: Bronzealder 2.000-500 f.Kr.* Gyldendal, Copenhagen.
- Jensen, Jørgen, Meyer, Ion & Skals, Irene. 1995. Egekisterne fra bronzealderen under kærlig pleje. *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1995:125-140.
- Jensen, Knud B. 1986. *Excavation report Nationalmuseet, Danske Afd., Danmarks Oldtid (Beretningsarkiv)*. Journal: RAS P 989/86. NM Archive.
- Jockenhövel, Albrecht. 1991. Räumliche Mobilität vom Personen in der mittleren Bronzezeit des westlichen Mitteleuropa. *Germania* 69(1): 49-62.
- 1994. Raum und Zeit – Gliederung der Bronzezeit. In: Jockenhövel, A. & Kuback, W. (eds.), *Bronzezeit in*

- Deutschland, 11-14. Konrad Theiss Verlag GmbH & Co., Stuttgart.
- Jæger, Anders & Laursen, Jesper. 1983. Lindebjerg and Røjle Mose Two Early Bronze Age Settlements on Fyn. *Journal of Danish Archaeology* 2:102-117.
- Kamp, Kathryn A. 2000. Where Have All the Children Gone? The Archaeology of Childhood. *Journal of Archaeological method and theory* 8(1):1-34.
- Kaplan, Gisela T. & Rogers, Lesley J. 1990. The Definition of Male and Female: Biological reductionism and the sanction of normality. In: Gunew, S (ed.), *Feminist Knowledge, Critique and Construction*, 205-228. Routledge, London.
- Kaul, Flemming. 2004. *Bronzealderns religion Studier af den nordiske bronzealders ikonografi. Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab*, Copenhagen.
- Keeley, Lawrence, H. 1996. *War Before Civilization*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Kersten, K. 1936. *Zur älteren nordischen Bronzezeit*. Karl Wacholtz Verlag, Neumünster.
- 1954. *Untersuchung von fünf Grabhügeln der jüngeren Stein- und älteren Bronzezeit in Klein Dannewerk, Kr Schleswig*. Germania 42:280-286.
- Kilian-Dirlmeier, Imma. 1975. Gürtelhaken, Gürtelbleche und Blechgürtel der Bronzezeit in Mitteleuropa (Ostfrankreich, Schweiz, Süddeutschland, Österreich, Tschechoslowakei, Ungarn, Nordest-Jugoslawien). PBF XII, 2. C. H. Beck-Verlag, Munich.
- Kjellström, Anna. 2005. *The Urban Farmer. Osteoarchaeological Analysis of Skeletons from Medieval Sigtuna Interpreted in a Socioeconomic Perspective. Theses and Papers in Osteoarchaeology No. 2*, Stockholm University, Stockholm.
- Klindt-Jensen, Ole. 1975. *A History of Scandinavian Archaeology*. Thames and Hudson, London.
- K.M Archiv. Archiv des Landesmuseums für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Schleswig, Schloß Gottorp.
- Knutsson, Ylva. 1998. *Bronsålders barn i Sydskandinavien – en undersökning av barnens sociala ställning tolkat genom gravskick*. Unpublished Master thesis, Department of Archaeology, Umeå University.
- Koch, Eva. 1992. Kulturforskelle mellem Lolland-Falster og Nordsjælland i ældre bronzealder. *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed* 1991:67-95
- 2001. *Bijagt, biavl og biprodukter fra Nordeuropas bronzealder*. *Aarbøger* 2000:7-54.
- Krause, Rüdiger. 1988. Grabfunde von Singen am Hohentwiel. Die endeneolithischen und frühbronzezeitlichen Grabfunde auf der Nordstadterrasse von Singen am Hohentwiel. *Forschungen und Berichte zur vor- und frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg* 32. Konrad Theiss Verlag, Stuttgart.
- 1996. *Zur Chronologie der frühen und Mittleren Bronzezeit Süddeutschlands, der Schweiz und Österreichs*. *Acta Archaeologica* 67:73-86.
- Kristiansen, Kristian. 1974. *Glerupfundet. Et deoptfund med kvindesmykker fra bronzealderns femte periode*. *Hikuin* 1:7-38.
- 1975 (unpublished manuscript). *Dragt- og dmykkeskikt i Nordens bronzealder*.
- 1979. *The Consumption of Wealth in Bronze Age Denmark. A Study in the Dynamics of Economic Processes in Tribal Societies*. In: Kristiansen, K. & Paludan-Müller, C. (eds.), *New Directions in Scandinavian Archaeology*, 158-190. *Studies in Scandinavian Prehistory and Early History Volume*. National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.
- 1983. *Kriger og høvding i Danmarks bronzealder. Et bidrag til bronzealdersværdets kulturhistorie*. In: Stjernquist, B. (ed.), *Struktur och förändring i bronsålderns samhäll*. Rapport från det tredje nordiska symposiet för bronsåldersforskning i Lund 23-25 april 1982, 63-87. University of Lund, Institute of Archaeology, Lund.
- 1987. *Centre and periphery in the Bronze Age Scandinavia*. In: Rowlands, M., Larsen, M. & Kristiansen, K. (eds.), *Centre and periphery in the ancient world*, 74-85. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 1998. *Europe Before History*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 1999a. *The Emergence of Warrior Aristocracies in Later European Prehistory and their long-term history*. In: Carman, C. & Harding, A. (eds.), *Ancient Warfare Archaeological Perspective*, 175-189. Sutton Publishing.
- 1999b. *Symbolic structures and social institutions. The twin rulers in bronze age Europe*. In: Gustafsson, A & Karlsson, H. (eds.), *Glyfer och arkeologiska rum – en vänbok till Jarl Nordbladh*, 537-552. *Gotarc Series A 3*, Gothenburg.
- 2002. *Langfærder og Helleristninger. in Situ* 2000/2002:67-80.
- Kristiansen, Kristian & Larsson Thomas B. 2005. *The Rise of Bronze Age Society: Travels, Transmissions and Transformations*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Kubach, Wolf. 1973. *Zwei Gräber mit „Söglar“ Ausstattung aus der deutschen Mittelgebirgszone*. *Germania* 51:403-417.
- 1977. *Die Nadeln in Hessen und Rheinhessen*. PBF XIII, 3. C. H. Beck-Verlag, Munich.
- Kubach-Richter, Isa. 1994. *Nadel, Schwert und Lanze – Tracht und Bewaffnung des Mannes*. In: Jockenhövel, A. & Kubach, W. (eds.), *Bronzezeit in Deutschland*, 54-58. Konrad Theiss Verlag GmbH & Co., Stuttgart.
- Kubach-Richter, Isa & Kubach, Wolf. 1989. *Bronzezeitliche Hügelgräberkultur zwischen Rhein und Mosel*. In: *Dynamique du Bronze moyen occidentale*, 79-98. *Actes du 113e Congrès national des Sociétés Savantes*, Strasbourg, 1988, Editions du CTHS. Paris.
- Kühl, Ingrid. 1985. *Analyse der Harris'schen Linien aus den Leichenbränden vom jungbronzezeitlichen Grabhügel Lusehøj bei Voldtofte/Südwestfönen, Dänemark*. *Acta Archaeologica* 54:132-140
- Laqueur, Thomas. 1990. *Making Sex. Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Harvard University Press.
- Larsson, Thomas B. 1986. *The Bronze Age metalwork in Southern Sweden. Aspects of Social and Spatial Organization 1800-500 B.C.* *Archaeology and Environment* 6. Umeå.
- Laux, Friedrich. 1971. *Die Bronzezeit in der Lüneburger Heide. Veröffentlichungen der urgeschichtlichen Sammlungen des Landesmuseums zu Hannover* 18. August Lax Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim.
- 1972. *Ein bronzezeitliches Frauengrab aus Lüneburger Heide*. *Harburger Jahrbuch* 1968/72 XIII: 43-51.
- 1976. *Die Nadeln in Niedersachsen*. PBF XIII, 4. C. H. Beck-Verlag, Munich.
- 1984. *Flügelhauben und andere Kopfbedeckungen der Bronzezeitlichen Lüneburger Gruppe*. *Hammaburg* 1981-83 6:49-76.
- 1989. *Reiche Männergräber aus Gültzow, Kreis Herzogtum Lauenburg. Ein Beitrag zur Regionalen Gruppengliederung in Südlichen Holstein während der Älteren und Mittleren Bronzezeit*. *Offa* 46:51-72.
- 1996a. *Tracht und Schmuck der Frauen und Männer*. In: Wegner, G. (ed.), *Leben – Glauben – Sterben vor 3000*

- Jahren Bronzezeit in Niedersachsen. Eine niedersächsische Ausstellung zur Bronzezeit-Kampagne des Europarates, 95-116. Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover, Isensee Verlag, Oldenburg.
- 1996b. Die Bewaffnung in der Bronzezeit. In: Wegner, G. (ed.), *Leben – Glauben – Sterben vor 3000 Jahren Bronzezeit in Niedersachsen. Eine niedersächsische Ausstellung zur Bronzezeit-Kampagne des Europarates*, 117-131. Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover, Isensee Verlag, Oldenburg.
 - 2000. Die Äxte und Beile in Niedersachsen 1 (Flach-, Randleisten- und Absatzbeile). PBF IX, 23. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart.
- Leben – Glauben – Sterben vor 3000 Jahren Bronzezeit in Niedersachsen. Eine niedersächsische Ausstellung zur Bronzezeit-Kampagne des Europarates. 1996. Wegner, G. (ed.). Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover, Isensee Verlag, Oldenburg.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1969. *The elementary structures of Kinship*. Beacon Press, Boston.
- Lillehammer, Grete. 1989. A Child is Born. The Child's World in an Archaeological Perspective. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 22(2):89-105.
- 2000. The world of children. In: Sofaer Derevenski, J. (ed.), *Children and material culture*. Routledge, London.
- Lochner, M. 1994. Späte Bronzezeit, Urnenfelderzeit. In: Neugebauer, J.-W. (ed.), *Bronzezeit in Ostösterreich*, 195-224. Verlag Niederösterreichisches Presshaus, Wien.
- Lomborg, Ebbe. 1960. Donauländische Kulturbeziehungen und die Relativen Chronologie der frühen nordischen Bronzezeit. *Acta Archaeologica* 1959:51-146.
- 1969. Den tidlige bronzealders kronologi. Et forsøg på at fastlægge grænsen mellem perioderne I og II. *Aarbøger* 1968:91-152.
 - 1971. Kontak-behov. *Skalk* 1971(2):18-24.
 - 1973. Die Flintdolche Dänemarks. Studien über Chronologie und Kulturbeziehungen des südskandinavischen Spätneolithikums. *Nordiske Fortidsminder Serie B Bind 1*, Det Kgl. Nordiske Oldskriftselskab, Copenhagen.
 - 1981. Et tøjstykke fra Hvidegårdsfundet – en hilsen fra Christian Jürgensen Thomsen. In: Egevang, R. et al. (eds.), *Det skabende menneske Kulturhistorisk skitsertilægg* P.V. Glob 20. februar 1981, 64-84. Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen.
- Lorentz, Kirs O. 2006. Human skeletal remains from the 1999 and 2000 seasons. In: Frankel, D & Webb, J.M. *Marki Alonia An Early and Middle Bronze Age settlement in Cyprus Excavations 1995-2000*, 293-303. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CXXIII*:2. Paul Åströms förlag, Sävedalen.
- Louwe Kooijmans, L. P. 1993. An Early/Middle Bronze Age multiple burial at Wassenaar, the Netherlands. *Analecta Praehistorica Leidensia* 26:1-20.
- Low, Jennifer A. 2003. *Manhood and the Duel: Masculinity in Early Modern Drama and Culture*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Madsen, Torsten. 1978. Perioder og periodeovergang i neolitikum. Om forskellige fundtypers egnethed till kronologiske opdelninger. *Hikuin* 4:51-60
- Magnusson, Gert. 1986. Lågtekisk järnhantering i Jämtlands län. *Jernkontorets Bergshistoriska Skriftserie N:r* 22. Stockholm.
- Makkay, János. 1996. C-14 Chronology: Eastern Europe. *Acta Archaeologica* 67:219-225.
- Malmer, Mats P. 1989a. Bergkonstens mening och innehåll. In: Jansson, S., Lundberg, E.B. & Bertilsson, U. (eds.), *Hällristningar och hällmålningar i Sverige*, 9-28. Forum, Helsingborg.
- 1989b. Principles of a non-mythological explanation of North-European Bronze Age rock art. In Nordström, H.-Å. & Knape, A. (eds.), *Bronze Age Studies. Transactions of the British-Scandinavian Colloquium in Sweden*, May 10-11, 1985; 91-100. *The Stockholm Studies* 6. Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm.
- Mann, Michael. 1986. *The sources of social power. A history of power from the beginning to A.D. 1760 volume 1*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Mauss, Marcel. 1969. *The Gift Forms and Function of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Cohen & West Ltd, London.
- Meller, Harald (ed.). 2004. *Der geschmiedete Himmel. Die weite Welt im Herzen Europas vor 3600 Jahren*. Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte Halle, Konrad Thesis Verlag GmbH, Stuttgart.
- Melodie, Ute el. 2002. *Bronzezeitliche Textilien*. In: Mühldorfer, B & Zeitler, J.P. (eds.), *Mykene Nürnberg Stonehenge Handel und Austausch in der Bronzezeit*. Gesellschaft Nürnberg e.v. Volume 43:197-204. VKA-Verlag, Fürth.
- Mestorf, Johanna. 1889. *Dolche in Frauengräbern der Bronzezeit*. *Correspondenz-Blatt der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 20:150-154.
- Montelius, Oscar. 1885 (1986). *Dating in the Bronze Age with special reference to Scandinavia*. Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm.
- Moore, Henrietta. 1994. *A Passion for Difference. Essays in Anthropology and Gender*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Moore, Jenny & Scott, Eleanor (eds.). 1997. *Invisible People and Processes. Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology*. Leicester University Press, London & New York.
- Morris, Ian. 1992. *Death Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Müller, Sophus. 1876. *Bronzealdernes Perioder en undersøgelse i forhistorisk arkæologi*. *Arbøger* 1876:185-309.
- 1897. *Vor Oldtid*. Copenhagen.
- Nelsen, Sarah Milledge. 1997. *Gender in archaeology: Analyzing power and prestige*. Alta Mira Press, Walnut Creek.
- Neugebauer, Christine. & Neugebauer, Johannes-Wolfgang. 1997. *Franzhausen. Das Frühbronzezeitliche Gräberfeld I*. *Fundberichte aus Österreich Materialheft A 5/1 & 5/2*. Verlag Ferdinand Berger & Söhne Ges. m. b. H., Horn.
- Neugebauer, Johannes-Wolfgang. 1994. *Bronzezeit in Ostösterreich*. Verlag Niederösterreichisches Pressehaus, St. Pölten-Wien.
- Neugebauer-Maresch, Christine & Neugebauer, Johannes-Wolfgang. 1988. *Das frühbronzezeitliche Hockergräberfeld Franzhausen I in urgeschichtlicher Sicht*. In: Windl, H. et al. (eds.), *Mensch und Kultur der Bronzezeit*. Franzhausen I, Gem. Nußdorf a.d. Traisen, NÖ., Mitteleuropas größtes frühbronzezeitliches Hockergräberfeld, 16-36. Asparn/Zaya.
- Nielsen, Karen-Hanne. 1971. *Tilskæring*. *Skalk* 1971(5):13-15
- 1980. *Ti Slag Garn*. *Skalk*. 1980(5):12-15.
 - 1988. *Melhøj – an Unheeded Parallel to Skrydstrup*. In: Bender Jørgensen, Lise, Bente, Magnus & Munksgaard, Elisabeth (eds.), *Archaeological Textiles. Report from the 2nd NESAT Symposium 1.-4 v 1984*, 7-25. Copenhagen.

- Nilsson, Sven. 1872. Bronsålder ett försök i Bronsålders-folkets Historia i Skandinavien. Lund, Berlingska Boktryckeriet.
- van de Noort. 2006. Argonauts of the North Sea – a Social Maritime Archaeology for the 2nd Millennium BC. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 72:267-287.
- Nordbladh, Jarl. 1989. Armour and fighting in the south Scandinavian Bronze Age, Especially in view of rock-art representation. In: Larsson, T.B. & Lundmark, H. (eds.), *Approaches to Swedish prehistory*, 323-333. BAR Int. Ser. 500.
- Nordbladh, Jarl & Yates, Tim. 1990. This Perfect Body, This Virgin Text: Between Sex and Gender in Archaeology. In: Bapty, I. & Yates, T. (eds.), *Archaeology After Structuralism: Post-structuralism and the Practice of Archaeology*, 222-237. Routledge, London.
- Nordin, Svante. 1991. Maktbegreppet ur en idéhistorisk synvinkel. In: Larsson, L. & Ryberg, E. (eds.), *Arkeologi och Makt. Rapport från arkeologidagarna 15-17 januari 1990*, 7-10. University of Lund, Institute of Archaeology rapport series No 40, Lund.
- Norling-Christensen, H. 1943. Excavation report Nationalmuseet, Danske Afd., Danmarks Oldtid (Beretningsarkiv). *Journalnr: Dnr 393/43*. NM Archive.
- Ó Bonnabháin, B. & Brindley, A.L. 1990. The Status of Children in a Sample of Bronze Age Burials containing Pygmy Cups. *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* V:19-24.
- Oestigaard, Terje & Goldhahn, Joakim. 2006. From the Dead to the Living: Death as Transaction and Re-negotiations. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 39(1):27-48.
- Ohler, Norbert. 1995. *The Medieval Traveller*. The Bodley Press, Woolbridge.
- Oldeberg, Andreas. 1933. Det nordiska bronsåldersspännets historia: med särskild hänsyn till dess gjuttekniska utformning i Sverige. *Kungl. Vitterhets-, historie-, och antikvitetsakademins handlingar* 38, Stockholm.
- 1974 + 1976. *Die ältere Metallzeit in Schweden I and II*. Stockholm.
- Osgood, Richard. 1998. *Osgood, Richard. 1998. Warfare in the Late Bronze Age of North Europe*. Bar International Series 694.
- 2000. Northern and Western Europe. In: Osgood, R, Monks, S. & Toms, J., *Bronze Age Warfare*, 9-36. Sutton Publishing Ltd, Stroud.
- 2006. The dead of Tormarton: Bronze Age Combat Victims? In: Otto, T., Thrane, H. & Vandkilde, H. (eds.), *Warfare and Social Anthropological Perspectives*, 331-340. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- O'Shea, John M. 1982. Mortuary Variability: an archaeological investigation. Academic Press, Orlando.
- Otto, Ton, Thrane, Henrik & Vandkilde, Helle (eds.). 2006. *Warfare and Social Anthropological Perspectives*. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- Parker Pearson, Michael. 1982. Mortuary Practices, society and ideology: an ethnoarchaeological study. In: Hodder, I. (ed.), *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, 99-113. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 1999. *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. Sutton Publishing Ltd, Stroud.
- Pedley, John Griffiths. 1998. *Greek art and archaeology*. Laurence King Publishing, London.
- Pétré, Bo. 1993. Male and Female Finds and Symbols in Germanic Iron Age Graves. *Current Swedish Archaeology* 1:149-154.
- Plicht, J. van der, Sanden, W. van der, Aerts, A.T. & Streurman, H.J. 2003. Dating bog bodies by means of ¹⁴C-AMS. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 31(2004):471-491.
- Piesker, Hans. 1937. Funde aus der älteren Bronzezeit der heide. *Nachrichtaus Niedersachsens Urgeschichte* 11:120-143.
- 1954. Die vielrippigen Armbänder der der älteren Bronzezeit. Ein Beitrag zu den Problemen des bronzezeitlichen lüneburgischen Formenkreises mit einem Exkurs zur Radnadelfrage. *Lüneburger Blätter* 5:96-135.
- 1958. Untersuchungen zur älteren Lüneburgischen Bronzezeit. Veröffentlichung des Nordwestdeutschen Verbandes für Altertumsforschung und der Urgeschichtlichen Sammlungen des Landesmuseums Hannover, Lüneburg.
- Prescott, Christopher. 2006. Copper production in Bronze Age Norway. In: Glørstad, H., Skar, B. & Skre, D. (eds.), *Historien i forhistorien Festschrift till Einar Østmo på 60-årsdagen*, 183-190. Kulturhistorisk museum Skrifter 4, Oslo.
- Price, Neil S. 2002. *The Viking Way: Religion and War in the Late Iron Age Scandinavia*. AUN 31, Uppsala.
- Private archive of Piesker in Herr Dr F. Laux's possession. Information from Herr Dr Hans Piesker's archive at Herr Dr F. Laux, Buchholz in der Nordheide, Lower Saxony.
- Prüssing, Peter. 1982. *Die Messer im nördlichen Westdeutschland*. PBF VII:3. C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich.
- Rallo, Antonia. 2000. The Woman's Role. In: Torelli, M. (ed.), *The Etruscans*, 131-139. Bompiani, Venice.
- Randsborg, Klavs. 1969. Von Periode II zu III Chronologische Studien über die ältere Bronzezeit Südskan-dinaviens und Norddeutschlands. *Acta Archaeologica* 1968:1-142.
- 1972. From Period III to Period IV. Chronological studies of the Bronze Age in Southern Scandinavia and Northern Germany. *Archaeological-Historical Series I Vol. XV*. National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.
- 1974. Social Stratification in Early Bronze Age Denmark: a Study in the Regulation of Cultural Systems. *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* 4:38-61.
- 1982. Rank, rights and resource – an archaeological perspective from Denmark. In: Renfrew, C & Shennan, S. J. (eds.), *Ranking, resources and exchange. Aspects of the archaeology of the early European society*, 132-139. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 1986. Women in prehistory: the Danish example. *Acta Archaeologica* 55:143-154.
- 1993. Kivik Archaeology and Iconography. *Acta Archaeologica* 64(1).
- 1998. Plundered Bronze Age graves Archaeological & Social Implications. *Acta Archaeologica* 69:113-138.
- 2006. Opening the Oak-coffins New dates – New Perspectives. *Acta Archaeologica* 77, *Acta Archaeologica Supplementa* 7:1-162.
- Rast-Eicher, Antoinette. 2005. Bast before Wool: the first textiles. In: Bichler, P. et al. (eds.), *Hallstatt Textiles: Technical Analysis, Scientific Investigations and Experiment on Iron Age Textiles*, 117-132. BAR International Series 1351.
- Rega, Elisabeth. 1997. Age, gender and biological reality in the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Mokrin. In: Moore, J. & Scott, E. (eds.), *Invisible People and Processes Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology*, 229-247. Leicester University Press, London & New York.
- Reinecke, Paul. 1902. *Zur Chronologie der zweiten Hälfte des Bronzealters in Süd- und Norddeutschland*.

- Correspondenz-Blatt der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte 33(3):17-22 & 27-32.
- 1965. Mainzer Aufsätze zur Chronologie der Bronze- und Eisenzeit. Rudolf Habelt Verlag, Bonn. (reprint of some of Reinecke's chronological articles)
 - Renfrew, Colin. 1982. Socio-economic change in ranked societies. In: Renfrew, C & Shennan, S. J. (eds.), *Ranking, resources and exchange. Aspects of the archaeology of the early European society*, 1-8. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 - 1986a. Varna and the emergence of wealth in prehistoric Europe. In: Appadurai, A. (ed.), *The social life of things*, 141-168. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 - 1986b. Introduction: Peer polity interaction and socio-political change. In: Renfrew, C & Cherry, J. F. (eds.), *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, 1-18. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 - Rolle, Renate. 1989. *The World of the Schyrians*. B.T. Batsford Ltd, London.
 - Rønne, Preben. 1987a. Stilvariationer i ældre bronzealder. Undersøgelser over lokal forskelle brug af ornamenter af oldsager i bronzealderens anden periode. *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1986:71-124.
 - 1987b. Overgangen fra periode II til III på de danske øer. En kronologisk analyse af den sene periode II milieu i de danske øers ældre bronzealder. *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1986:125-146.
 - 1993. Problemer omkring bronzealderens metalhåndværkere. In: Forsberg, L. & Larsson, T. B. (eds.), *Ekonomi och näringsformer i Nordisk Bronsålder. Rapport från det 6:e Nordiskabronsålderssymposiet, Nämforsen 1990*, 71-92. Arkeologiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet.
 - Rowlands, M Michael. J. 1980. Kinship, alliance and exchange in the European Bronze Age. In: Barrett, J & Bradley, R. (eds.), *Settlement and Society in British Later Bronze Age Part I*, 15-55. *BAR* 83 (i).
 - 1987. Centre and periphery: a review of a concept. In: Rowland, M., Larsen, M. & Kristiansen, K. (eds.), *Centre and periphery in the ancient world*, 1-11. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 - Rydbeck, Otto. 1912. Ett graffält under flat mark från sten och bronsålder. *Fornvännen* 1912:10-168.
 - Ryder, Micheal L. 1990. Danish Bronze Age Wools. *Journal of Danish Archaeology* 1988 vol 7:136-143.
 - Sanden, Wijnand van der. 1996. *Udødeliggjorte i mosen. Historierne om den nordvesteuropæiske moselig*. Batavian Lion International, Amsterdam.
 - Sanday, Peggy R. 2003. *The Divine Queens of Mingangkabau Lore. Ancient queens Archaeological Explorations* (Nelson S. M. red.): 175-192. Altamira Press, Walnut Creek.
 - Sarauw, George & Alin, Johan. 1923. *Götaälvsområdets fornminnen*. Elanders Boktryckeri AB, Gothenburg.
 - Scherping, Regina. 2004. Bronzezeitliche Tracht in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. In: Jöns, H. & Lüth, F. (eds.), *Mythos und Magie Archäologische Schätze der Bronzezeit aus Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, 51-55. Archäologie in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern 3. Lübstorf.
 - Schmidt, Jens-Peter. 1993. *Studien zur jüngeren Bronzezeit in Schleswig-Holstein und dem nördelbischen Hamburg. Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie Band 15 Teil A*. Dr. Rudolf Habelt GMBH, Bonn.
 - 2004. Überraschung auf der Erdgastasse – Bronzezeitliche Gräber in Thürkow. In: Jöns, H. & Lüth, F. (eds.), *Mythos und Magie Archäologische Schätze der Bronzezeit aus Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, 127-131. Archäologie in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern 3. Lübstorf.
 - Schubart, Hemanfrid. 1972. Die Funde der älteren Bronzezeit in Mecklenburg. *Offa-Bücher* 26, Karl Wachholtz Verlag, Neumünster.
 - Schults, Micheal, Schmidt-Schultz, Tyede H., and Kreuts, Kerstin. 1998. Ergebnisse der paläopathologischen Untersuchung an der frühbronzezeitlichen Kinderskeletten von Jelšovce (Slowakien Republik). In: Hänsel, B. (ed.), *Mensch und Umwelt in der Bronzezeit Europas. Man and Environment in Bronze Age Europe*, 77-90. Oetker-Voges Verlag, Kiel.
 - Sehested, N.F.B. 1884. *Archæologiske Undersøgelser 1879-1881*. (udgivne efter hans død), C.A. Reitzel, Copenhagen.
 - Selling, Susanne. 1998. *Prydnad eller Prestige? Bronssmycket som symbol för kvinnans status under äldre bronsåldern*. Unpublished MA thesis, Department of Archaeology, Stockholm University.
 - Shahar, Shulamith. 1997. Growing old in the Middle Ages: "winter clothes us in shadow and pain". Routledge, London.
 - Shepard, Deborah J. 1999. The Elusive Warrior Maiden Tradition: Bearing weapons in Anglo-Saxon Society. In: Carman, J & Harding, H. (eds.), *Ancient Warfare Archaeological Perspective*, 219-243. Sutton Publisher, London.
 - Sherratt, Andrew. 1993. What would a Bronze-Age World System look like? Relations between temperate Europe and the Mediterranean in Later Prehistory. *Journal of European Archaeology* 1(2):1-57.
 - Shilling, Chris. 1993. *The Body and Social Theory*. Saga Publications, London.
 - Sicherl, Bernhard. 1996. Nochmals zu den ältesten Schwerformen Niedersachsens. Skizze zu einem neuen Bild des Sögelers Kreises. *Die Kunde N. F.* 47:287-302.
 - Siemoneit, Beata. 1996. Das Kind in der Bronzezeit. Archäologische und anthropologische Befunde aus Niedersachsen. *Die Kunde N.F.* 47:341-371.
 - Simonsen, John. 2000. Små skæbner. *Skalk* 2000(4):11-16.
 - Simrishamnsbladet 3/9 1904. Short article the 3rd of September 1904, found in ATA.
 - Skoglund, Peter. 2005. Vardagens landskap – lokala perspektiv på bronsålderns materiella kultur. *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia Series in 8° No 49*, Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm.
 - Smits, E & Maat, G. 1993. An Early/Middle Bronze Age common grave at Wassenaar, the Netherlands. The physical anthropological results. *Analecta Praehistorica Leidensia* 26: 21-28.
 - Sofaer, Joanna R. 2006. *The Body as Material Culture A Theoretical Osteoarchaeology. Topics in Contemporary Archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 - Sofaer Derevenski, Joanna. 1994. Perspectives on Children and Childhood. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 13:2.
 - 1997a. Linking Gender and Age as Social Variables. *Ethnographisch-Archäologischen Zeitschrift* 38(3&4):485-493.
 - 1997b. Engendering Children, Engendering Archaeology. In: Moore, J. & Scott, E. (eds.), *Invisible People and Processes: Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology*, 192-202. Leicester University Press, London.
 - 2000a. Rings of life: the role of early metalwork in mediating the gendered life course. *World Archaeology* Vol. 31(3):389-406.
 - 2000b. (ed). *Children and material culture*. Routledge, London.

- Sørenssen, Marie Louise Stig. 1991. The construction of Gender through Appearance. In: Wale, D & Willows, N. D. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Gender. Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Chacmool Conference*, 121-129. Calgary.
- 1992. Gender Archaeology and Scandinavian Bronze Age Studies. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 25(1):31-49.
- 1997. Reading Dress: the Construction of Social Categories and Identities in Bronze Age Europe. *Journal of European Archaeology* 5(1):93-114.
- 1999. Changing meaning: Reflection upon historiography and Thomsen's three age system. In: Gustavsson, A & Karlsson, H. *Glyfer och arkeologiska rum – en vänbok till Jarl Nordbladh*, 133-149. Gotarc Serias A 3, Gothenburg.
- 2000. *Gender Archaeology*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Spindler, Konrad. 1994. *The man in the Ice*. Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, London.
- Sprockhoff, Ernst. 1927. Die ältesten Schwertformen Niedersachsens. *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 18:123-141.
- 1930. Hügelgräber bei Vorwohlde im Krise Sulingen. *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* XXI:193-236.
- Stærnøse Nielsen, Karen-Hanne. 1989. Bronzealdersdragterne som blev en messe værd. *Fynske Minder* 1989:31-66.
- 1999. Kirkes væv Opstadvævens historie og nutidige brug. *Forsøg med forntid 6. Historisk-Arkæologisk Forsøgscenter Lejre, Lejre*.
- Steffgen, Ute. 1998. Die Gräber der frühen und älteren Bronzezeit in Schleswig-Holstein und Dänemark Studien zu Grabbau und Grabeinrichtung. *Offa* 54/55:97-219.
- Stenberger, Märten. 1964. *Det forntida Sverige*. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm.
- Strassburg, Jimmy. 2000. Shamanic shadows one hundred generations of undead subversion in southern Scandinavia, 7000-4000 BC. *Stockholm studies in archaeology* 20, Stockholm.
- Strömberg, Märta. 1975a. Studien zu einem Gräberfeld in Löderup (Jungneolithikum bis römische Kaiserzeit) Grabersitte – Kontinuität – Sozialstruktur. *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia series 8° N° 10*. Habelt, Bonn & Gleerup, Lund.
- 1975b. Bronsålder på Österlen. *Undersökningar i Valleberga-Löderup-Ingelstorp*. Berlingska Boktryckeriet, Lund.
- 1982. Ingelstorp zur Siedlungsentwicklung eines Südschwedischen Dorfes. *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia Series in 4° N° 14*, Habelt, Bonn & Gleerup, Lund.
- 1984. Burial Traditions in Late Neolithic Society Models and Results in the Hagestad Project. *Meddelanden från Lunds universitets historisk museum 1983-1984*:45-71.
- 1999. Många fynd – många människor? Frågor kring gruppering i bosättningen under senneolitikum – tidig bronsålder i skånska kustbygd. In: Gustavsson, A & Karlsson, H. *Glyfer och arkeologiska rum – en vänbok till Jarl Nordbladh*, 643-660. Gotarc Serias A 3, Gothenburg.
- Sudholz, Gisela. 1964. *Die ältere Bronzezeit zwischen Niederrhein und Mittelweser*. August Lax Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim.
- Tainter, Joseph A. 1978. Mortuary Practice and the Study of Prehistoric Social System. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 1:105-141.
- Teschler-Nicola, Maria. 1988. Franzhausen I – Bevölkerungsbiologie der Bronzezeit. In: Windl, H. et al. (eds.), *Mensch und Kultur der Bronzezeit*. Franzhausen I, Gem. Nußdorf a.d. Traisen, NÖ., Mitteleuropas größtes frühbronzezeitliches Hockergräberfeld, 37-60. Asparn/Zaya.
- 1994. Bevölkerungsbiologische Aspekte der frühen und mittleren Bronzezeit. In: Neugebauer, J.-W. *Bronzezeit in Ostösterreich*, 167-183. Verlag Niederösterreichisches Pressehaus, St. Pölten-Wien.
- Thedéen, Susanne. 2004. *Gränser i livet - gränser i landskapet. Generationsrelationer och rituella praktiker i södermanländska bronsålderslandskap*. *Stockholm Studies in Archaeology* 33, Stockholm.
- Thomsen, Thomas. 1929. Egekestefundet fra Egtved, fra den ældre Bronzealder. *Nordisk Fortidsminder* II(4):165-214.
- Thorpe, Nick. 2003. Anthropology, archaeology, and the origin of warfare. *World Archaeology* 35(1):145-165.
- 2006. Fighting and Feuding in Neolithic and Bronze Age Britain and Ireland. In: Otto, T., Thrane, H. & Vandkilde, H. (eds.), *Warfare and Social Anthropological Perspectives*, 141-165. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- Thrane, Henrik. 1962. Hjulgraven fra Storehøj ved Tobøl i Ribe Amt. *Kuml* 1962: 5-37.
- 1963. The Earliest Bronze Vessels in Denmark's Bronze Age. *Acta Archaeologica* 33(1962):109-163.
- 1965. Excavation report Nationalmuseet, Danske Afd., Danmarks Oldtid (Beretningsarkiv). *Journalnr: Dnr 648/65*. NM Archive.
- 1975. Europæiske forbindelser Bidrag til studiet af fremmedeforbindelser i Danmarks yngre bronzealder (periode IV-V). *Nationalmuseets skrifter Arkeologisk-historiske række Bind XVI*, Copenhagen.
- 1981. Make-up. *Skalk* 1981(1):32.
- 1984a. Frederik Sehested: a Danish pioneer. *Antiquity* 58(223):113-116.
- 1984b. Lusehøj ved Voldtofte – en sydvestfynsk storhøj fra yngre bronzealder. *Fynske Studier XIII*, Odense bysmuseum, Odense.
- 1998. The effects of the Bronze Age on the Environment and Culture I Scandinavia. In: Hänsel, B (ed.), *Mensch und Umwelt in der Bronzezeit Europas. Man and Environment in Bronze Age Europe*, 271-280. Oetker-Vogel Verlag, Kiel.
- 2001. Why did the rainbow end at Drouwen – if it did? In: Metz, W. H., Beek, B. L. v. & Steegstra, H (eds.), *Patina. Essays Presented to Jay Jordan Butler on the Occasion of his 80th Birthday*, 551-560. Groningen.
- 2006. Swords and other Weapons in the Nordic Bronze Age: Technology, Treatment, and Context. In: Otto, T., Thrane, H. & Vandkilde, H. (eds.), *Warfare and Social Anthropological Perspectives*, 491-504. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- Treherne, Paul. 1995. The Warrior's Beauty: The Masculine Body and Self-identity in Bronze-Age Europe. *Journal of European Archaeology* 3(1):105-144.
- Vandkilde, Helle. 1996. From Stone to Bronze. The Metalwork of the Late Neolithic and Earliest Bronze Age in Denmark. *Jutland Archaeological Society XXXII*. Aarhus.
- 2000. Material Culture and Scandinavian Archaeology: A Review of the Concepts of Form, Function, and Context. In: Olausson, D. & Vandkilde, H. (eds.), *Form, Function & Context. Material culture studies in Scandinavian archaeology*: 3-50. *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia Series in 8°, No. 31*, Almqvist & Wiksell International, Lund.
- 2003. Commemorative tales: archaeological responses to modern myth, politics, and war. *World Archaeology* 35(1):126-144.
- 2006a. Archaeology and War: Presentations of Warriors and Peasants in Archaeological Interpretations. In: Otto, T., Thrane, H. & Vandkilde, H. (eds.), *Warfare*

- and Social Anthropological Perspectives, 57-73. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- 2006b. Warfare and Gender According to Homer: An Archaeology of an Aristocratic Warrior Culture. In: Otto, T., Thrane, H. & Vandkilde, H. (eds.), *Warfare and Social Anthropological Perspectives*, 515-528. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
 - Vandkilde, Helle, Rahbek, Uffe & Rasmussen, Kaare Lund. Radiocarbon Dating and the Chronology of Bronze Age Southern Scandinavia. *Acta Archaeologica* 67:183-198.
 - Vogelsang-Eatwood. 1993. *Pharaomic Egyptian Clothing*. E.J. Brill, Leiden.
 - Vogt, Inken. 2004. Der Übergang von der frühen zur mittleren Bronzezeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Griffplattenklingen. *Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Vol 79*. Dr Rudolf Habelt Verlag GmbH, Bonn.
 - Wanzek, Burger. 1997. Nordica im bronzezeitlichen Südosteuropa. In: Becker, C. et al (eds.), *Beiträge zur Prähistorischen Archäologie zwischen Nord- und Südosteuropa*. Festschrift für Bernhard Hänsel, 527-541. Berlin.
 - Weiler, Eva. 1994. Innovationsmiljöer i bronsålderns samhälle och idévärld. Kring ny teknologi och begravningsritual i Västergötland. *Studia Archaeologica Universitatis Umeensis* 5, Umeå.
 - Welinder, Stig. 1977. Ekonomiska processer i förhistorisk expansion. *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia Series in 8° Minore*. N° 7, Lund.
 - 1998. The Cultural Construction of Childhood in Scandinavia 3500 BC – 1350 AD. *Current Swedish Archaeology* 6:185-204.
 - 2001. The Archaeology of Old Age. *Current Swedish Archaeology* 9:163-178.
 - Wels-Weyrauch, Ulrike. 1978. Die Anhänger und Halsringe in Südwestdeutschland und Nordbayern. PBF XI:1. C.H.Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich.
 - 1989a. Mittelbronzezeitliche Frauentrachten in Süddeutschland (Beziehungen zur Hagenauer Gruppierung). In: *Dynamique du Bronze moyen en Europe occidentale*, 117-134. Actes du 113e Congrès national des Sociétés Savantes, Strasbourg, 1988, Editions du CTHS. Paris.
 - 1989b. „Fremder Mann“? *Germania* 67(1): 162-168.
 - 1991. Die anhängen in Südbayern. PBF XI:5. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart.
 - 1994. Im Grab erhalten, im Leben getragen – Tracht und Schmuck der Frau. In: Jockenhövel, A. & Kuback, W. (eds.), *Bronzezeit in Deutschland*, 59-64. Konrad Theiss Verlag GmbH & Co., Stuttgart.
 - Wels-Weyrauch, Ulrike, Kalis, Arie J., Van den Brink, Louise M, & Spennemann, Dirk R. 1986. Zwei Mittelbronzezeitliche Grabhügel bei Wolnzach-Niederlauterbach, Lkr. Pfaffenhofen A.D. Im Bericht der Bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege 26/27:135-160..
 - Willroth, Karl-Heinz. 1989. Nogle betragtninger over de regionale forhold i Slesvig og Holsten i bronsælderens period II. In: Poulsen, J. (ed.), *Regionale forhold i Nordisk Bronzælder 5*. Nordiske Symposium for Bronzælderforskning på Sandbjerg Slot 1987, 89-100. Aarhus.
 - 1992. Undersøgelser til besiedlingshistorien og landskabet i Angel og Schwansen fra den ældre Bronzezeit til det tidlige Middelalder. Eine Studie zur Chronologie, Chorologie und Siedlungskunde. *Offa-Bücher* 72. Karl Wachholtz Verlag Neumünster.
 - 1996. Bronzezeit als historische Epoche. In: Wegner, G. (ed.), *Leben – Glauben – Sterben vor 3000 Jahren Bronzezeit in Niedersachsen*. Eine niedersächsische Ausstellung zur Bronzezeit-Kampagne des Europarates, 1-36. Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover, Isensee Verlag, Oldenburg.
 - Wobst, Martin H. 1977. Stylistic behaviour and information exchange. *University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, Anthropological Paper* 61:317-342.
 - Zich, Bernd. 1992a. Eine Frauenbestattung der Ilmenau – Kultur aus Flintbek, zur Frage von Handels- und Personenkontakten in der älteren Bronzezeit. Symposium St. Jynde vad. *Archäologie in Schleswig/Arkæologi i Slesvig* 2/1992:185-191
 - 1992b. Ausgrabung auf dem stein- und bronzezeitlichen Grabhügelfeld von Flintbek, Kreis Rendsburg-Eckernförde. Ein Vorbericht. *Archäologische Nachrichten aus Schleswig-Holstein Mitteilungen der Archäologischen Gesellschaft Schleswig-Holstein e.V.* Hefte 5:6-21.
 - Zimmermann, Ulrich. 1988. Nordeuropa während der älteren Bronzezeit. Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Gruppengliederung. *Arbeiten zur Urgeschichte des Menschen* 12. Verlag Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main.
- Personal communication
- Pia Bennike, Lab. Biol. Anthropology/Inst. Forensic Medicine Univ. Copenhagen (e-mail) 2007-02-09.
- Annika Larsson, Uppsala University (e-mail) 2006-11-03.
- Ylva Olsson, Lunds Historiska Museum 2002-08-26.
- Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, Cambridge University (e-mail) 2007-03-13.
- Sabine Sten, lector in osteology, University of Gotland (e-mail) 2005-06-15.
- Inga Ullén, Statens Historiska Museum (e-mail) 2004-07-27.
- Internet sources
- 010110-42, Det Kulturhistoriske Centralregister, www.dkconline.dk [20050503].
- SHM 19099, Historiska museet samlingarna, catview.historiska.se/catview/index.jsp [20050407].

Explanatory Notes for Appendices

Appendix 1:

Period IB burials

Unless otherwise specified, all objects are made of bronze with the exception of 'vessel', which indicates a ceramic vessel of some kind (in column 'other').

The numbers written in the columns represent the total of something, except for the three columns presented below, where the number stands for one special type of object.

The column 'blade' includes dagger or sword blades of different kinds. The number in the column relates to a specific blade type (see below).

Blade	nr
sögel type	1
probable sögel type	1.5
Wohlde type	2
probable Wohlde type	2.5
Sögel/Wohlde type	3
Virring type	4
Hajdusamsong type	5
Other	6
Valsømagle type	7
Rastorf-Raum type	8

The number in the column 'axes' relates to a specific axe type (see below).

Axe types	nr	
Fritslar type axe	1	
Spone shaped axes		2
Märgerklingen-Valsømagle	3	
Underåre	6	
Fårdrup type	7	
Vandkilde type C2 Hüsby	8	
Oldendorf	9	
Unclassified High-flanged axe	10	
Extreme Oldendorf	11	
Flanged axe	12	
Nick-flanged chisel	13	
British type axe	14	

The number in the column 'spearhead' relates to a specific spearhead type (see below). If more than one number is written in the column it means that more than one spearhead was found in the grave.

Spearheads	nr	
Valsømagle type	1	
Bagterp type	2	
Close to Bagterp	3	
Other	4	
Possible spearhead		5

In the column 'pin type' I have chosen to write the German name for the type excluding 'nadel' (pin), i.e. 'Rollen' is written for a Rollennadel. Here, as also for the few fibulae, the word fibula has been written.

In the column 'ring' only the type of ring has been written, i.e. arm stands for arm-ring, finger for finger-ring, etc. If only 'spiral/ring' is written it is a smaller ring

for which the exact use is unknown, and it is most likely some type of ear ring or Lockenring.

'Frag' = fragment or fragmentary.

In the column labelled 'grave type', 'barrow' stands for burial in a barrow, 'flat' for burial under flat ground, 'stone cist' for burial in a Late Neolithic stone cist grave, and 'mega' for burial in a megalithic tomb.

Sources

Name and NM archive = Oldtidsarkivet in the National-museum in Copenhagen plus the year the report was written.

Name and AUD 19xx= information from Arkæologiske udgravninger i Danmark and 19xx stands for the year and the following number in the catalogue.

B L1:xx = number in the catalogue in (the L stand for which list and XX for the number in that list) Bergmann, Joseph. 1970. Die ältere Bronzezeit Nordwestdeutschland. Neue Methoden zur Ethnischen und Historischen Interpretation Urgeschichtlicher Quellen. Teil A. N. G. Kasseler Beiträge zur vor- und Frühgeschichte Vol 2. Elwert Verlag, Marburg.

Bokelmann 1977 = Bokelmann, Klaus. 1977. Ein Grabhügel der Stein- und Bronzezeit bei Rastorf, Kreis Plön. Offa 34:90-99.

Bro I:xx = the catalogue nr in Broholm, Hans Christian. 1943. Danmarks Bronzealder volume I. Nyt Nordisk Forlag, Arnold Busck, Copenhagen.

Butler 1986 = Butler, Jay J. 1986. Drouwen: End of a "Nordic" Rainbow? *Paleohistoria* 28:133-168.

Ethelberg 1991 Ham jour 1063 = Report by Ethelberg in Haderslev Museum.

GSxx = catalogue number in Sudholz, Gisela. 1964. Die ältere Bronzezeit zwischen Niederrhein und Mittelweser. August Lax Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim.

Günter 1974 = Günter, Klaus, 1974. Eine Frühbronzezeitliche Dolchklinge aus Bierde Kreis Minden. In: Alföldi, A. & Tackenberg, K. (eds.), Festgabe Kurt Tackenberg zum 75. Geburtstag, 57-67. Rudolf Habelt Verlag GMBH, Bonn.

Haxx = number in the catalogue in Hachmann, Rolf. 1959. Die frühe Bronzezeit im westlichen Ostseegebiet und ihre mittel- und südosteuropäischen Beziehungen Chronologische Untersuchungen. Flemmings Verlag, Kartographisches Institut, Hamburg.

Häxx = number in the catalogue in Håkansson, Inger. 1985. Skånes gravfynd från äldre bronsålder som källa till studiet av social struktur. *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia Series in 8°*. Nr 14, Lund.

Hansen 1938 = Hansen, Folke. 1938. Skånska bronsålder-shögar. Gleerupska univ.-bokhandel, Lund.

J-Fxx = catalogue number in Jacob-Friesen, Gernot. 1967. Bronzezeitliche Lanzenspitzen Norddeutschland und Skandinavien Text & Tafelteil. Veröffentlichungen der

- urgeschichtlichen Sammlungen des Landesmuseums zu Hannover band 17. August Lax Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim.
- Kexx = number in the Anér and Kersten volumes. Anér, Ekkehard & Kersten, Karl. Die Funde der älteren Bronzezeit des nordischen Kreises in Dänemark, Schleswig-Holstein und Niedersachsen. Volume 1-11 & 17-19. Karl Wachholtz Verlag, Neumünster.
- Kersten 1936 = Kersten, K. 1936. Zur älteren nordischen Bronzezeit. Karl Wachholtz Verlag, Neumünster.
- Kubach 1973 = Kubach, Wolf. 1973. Zwei Gräber mit „Söglar“-Ausstattung aus der deutschen Mittelgebirgszone. *Germania* 51:403-417.
- Lx = catalogue number in Laux, Friedrich. 1971. Die Bronzezeit in der Lüneburger Heide, August Lax Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim.
- L(2000) xx = catalogue number in Laux, Friedrich. 2000. Die Äxte und Beile in Niedersachsen 1 (Flach-, Randleisten- und Absatzbeile). PBF IX, 23. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart.
- Laux 1972 = Laux, Friedrich. . Ein bronzezeitliches Frauengrab aus Lüneburger Heide. *Harburger Jahrbuch* 1968/72 XIII: 43-51.
- Lisbeth Wincentz report 1997 P.2944/94 = Report from Djurslands Museum
- NM archive = Oldtidsarkivet in the Nationalmuseum in Copenhagen.
- NNU64(2):321
- Olxx = number in the catalogue in Oldeberg, Andreas. 1974. Die ältere Metallzeit in Schweden I. Stockholm.
- Piesker 1937 = Piesker, Hans. 1937. Funde aus der älteren Bronzezeit der Heide. *Nachricht aus Niedersachsens Urgeschichte* 11:120-143.
- Sarauw & Alin = Sarauw, George & Alin, Johan. 1923. Götaälvsområdets fornminnen. Elanders Boktryckeri AB, Gothenburg.
- SHM xx = number in the Statens Historiska museums catalogue
- Sprockhoff 1930 = Sprockhoff, Ernst. 1930. Hügelgräber bei Vorwohlde im Kreise Sulingen. *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* XXI:193-236.
- Thedeén 2004 = Thedeén, Susanne. 2004. Gränser i livet - gränser i landskapet. Generationsrelationer och rituella praktiker i östmanländskabronsålderslandskap. *Stockholm Studies in Archaeology* 33, Stockholm.
- Vaxx = number in Vandkilde's catalogue. Vandkilde, Helle. 1996. From Stone to Bronze. The Metalwork of Late Neolithic and Earliest Bronze Age in Denmark. *Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter* XXXII. Aarhus.
- Vogt:xx = number in the catalogue in Vogt, Inken. 2004. Der Übergang von der frühen zur mittleren Bronzezeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Griffplattenklingen. *Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* Vol 79. Dr Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn.
- We 1949 = Wegawitz, Willi. 1949. Die Gräber der Stein- und Bronzezeit im Gebiet der Niederelbe (Die Kreise Stade und Harburg). August Lax Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim.
- UZ DHS xx = number in the catalogue in Zimmermann, Ulrich. 1988. Nordeuropa während der älteren Bronzezeit. Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Gruppengliederung. In: Ziegert, H. (ed.), *Arbeiten zur Urgeschichte des Menschen*. Vol 12. Verlag Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main.

name	parish	district	county	country	blade	nr. flint dagger	axe type	pin type	flint arrow head	spearhead	strike-a-light
Limensgård	Åkirkeby	Bornholm Søndre	Bornholm	Denmark	6	2					
Sigerslevvester	Sigerslevvester	Lynge-Frederiksborg	Frederiksborg	Denmark							
Brændstrup	Rødding	Frøs	Haderslev	Denmark	1		1				
Tornum	Lintrup	Frøs	Haderslev	Denmark				fibula			
Sommersted	Sommersted	Gram	Haderslev	Denmark			9				
Over-Jerstal	Vedsted	Gram	Haderslev	Denmark	3						1
Kolsnap	Nustrup	Gram	Haderslev	Denmark			9				
Strandelhjørn	Bevtoft	Nørre-Rangstrup	Haderslev	Denmark						2	
Mosbæk	Brønderslev	Børglum	Hjørring	Denmark	7						
Stubdrup	Øster-Brønderslev	Børglum	Hjørring	Denmark						2	
Vester Brønderslev	Brønderslev	Børglum	Hjørring	Denmark	6						
Bangsbostrand	Flade	Horns	Hjørring	Denmark			6				
Hune	Hune	Hvetbo	Hjørring	Denmark			3			1	
Horne Kirkegård	Horne	Vennebjerg	Hjørring	Denmark	6						1
Lerup	Lerup	Øster-Han	Hjørring	Denmark	7						
Tranum	Tranum	Øster-Han	Hjørring	Denmark	7						
Herslev	Finderup	Løve	Holbæk	Denmark	7		3	Lochhals	2		
Rye	Gørlev	Løve	Holbæk	Denmark				Lochhals			
Ordstrup	Fårlejevejle	Ods	Holbæk	Denmark				Lochhals			
Overby Lyng	Odden	Ods	Holbæk	Denmark	6						
Særslev	Særslev	Skipinge	Holbæk	Denmark							
Katrinedal	Kundby	Tuse	Holbæk	Denmark			6				
Gislinge	Gislinge	Tuse	Holbæk	Denmark	7						
Vridsløsemagle	Sengeløse	Smørum	København	Denmark			3 red deer bone				
Buddinge	Gladsaxe	Sokkelund	København	Denmark	7			gold Lochhals		1	
Øm	Glim	Sømme	København	Denmark	6			cord lug			
Dyssegård	Gundsømagle	Sømme	København	Denmark	7		13			1	1
Ravnsby	Birket	Lollands Nørre	Maribo	Denmark			9				
Ravnsby	Birket	Lollands Nørre	Maribo	Denmark	6						
Voldtofte	Flemløse	Båg	Odense	Denmark		ja				1	
Guldbjerg	Guldbjerg	Skovby	Odense	Denmark	5						
Over Vindinge	Sværdborg	Hammer	Præstø	Denmark						1	
Tommestrup	Store-Hedding	Stevns	Præstø	Denmark							
Ørum	Ørum	Djurs Nørre	Randers	Denmark	2						
Diverhøj	Homå	Djurs Sønder	Randers	Denmark			3	2 fibulae			1
Vissing	Vissing	Galten	Randers	Denmark						2	
Elve	Elve	Lisbjerg	Randers	Denmark	6	1				1	
Albøge	Albøge	Djurs Sønder	Randers	Denmark	7						

rings	other flint objects	amber	pendants	other	grave type	source
	scraper		2 slate	vessel	stone cist in barrow	Ke1492C, Va637
				belt hook	barrow	Va694, Ke187
					?	Ke3371 Va549 Ha11
				belt hook, pyrite	barrow	Ethelberg 1991 HAM jour 1063
					barrow	Ke3545I Va408
				tutulus	barrow	Ke3571 Va763
					barrow	Ke3483, Va 407
					barrow	Ke3699I, Va766, J-F 610
				belt hook	flat	Va807 Ha 54 Bro I:77
			slate	ceramic sherd	barrow	Va811 Ha 76, J-F 567
					barrow	Va818 Ha91
					barrow	Va379
				vessel	barrow	Va515
				belt hook	barrow	Va798 Bro I:80
					cist grave	Va803 Ha 45
					barrow	Va813 Ha 81
				vessel	cist grave	Va510 Ke661
					barrow	Va665 Ke668F
					barrow	Va660 Ke793A
					barrow	Va662, Ke874
			slate	belt hook, tweezers	barrow	Va670 Ke1008B
					barrow	Va360, Ke1042d
					cist grave	Va671, Ke1018a
				bronze remains	barrow	Va647, Ke343
gold spiral				belt hook, weapon?	burial	Va649 Ke381, J-F 354
				belt hook	mega	Va695, Ke451
gold sheet band		3 buttons		tweezers, saw, bronze bits	barrow	Va 634, Ke 4511
					barrow	Va417, Ke1659
				pommel of Valsømagle	barrow	Va703 Ke 1654
	saw				cist grave	Va715, Ke1759, J-F496
					flat	Va720, Ke1882
	scraper		slate	vessel	cist grave	Va688, Ke1292I
				pommel of Valsømagle	type barrow	Va690, Ke 1376
				belt hook	barrow	Lisbeth Wincentz report 1997 P.2944/94
				ferrule	barrow	Va520
					barrow	Va853, J-F 542
					barrow	Va793, J-F 524
					barrow	Va790, Bro 88, Ha 2

name	parish	district	county	country	blade	nr. flint dagger	axe type	pin type	flint arrow head	spearhead	strike-a-light
Mjelby Mark	Harridslev	Øster-Lisbjerg	Randers	Denmark						2	
Skødegård	Bække	Anst	Ribe	Denmark	1	1		pin frag			
?	Lejrskov	Anst	Ribe	Denmark	1	1					1
Nørre-Bøel	Gørding	Gørding	Ribe	Denmark	1						
Skovbølling	Åstrup	Gørding	Ribe	Denmark			9				
Gerndrup	Brørup	Malt	Ribe	Denmark	1.5						
Foldingsbro	Folding	Malt	Ribe	Denmark			13				
Surhave	Brørup	Malt	Ribe	Denmark							
Hjortvad	Kalvslund	Ribe	Ribe	Denmark	1						
Høm	Seem	Ribe	Ribe	Denmark			10				
Birksbøl	Nørre-Skast	Skast	Ribe	Denmark	2						
Tudegård	Nørre-Skast	Skast	Ribe	Denmark	1						
Tudegård	Nørre-Skast	Skast	Ribe	Denmark	1						
Ejsing	Ejsing	Ginding	Ringkøbing	Denmark	7						
Kisum	Estvad	Ginding	Ringkøbing	Denmark	2						
Stendis	Ryde	Ginding	Ringkøbing	Denmark						2	
Ørskov	Snejbjerg	Hammerlund	Ringkøbing	Denmark	6						
Røddingslund Plantage	Vildbjerg	Hammerlund	Ringkøbing	Denmark		1					
Holmsland	Holmsland klot	Hind	Ringkøbing	Denmark						4	
Tegelhøj	Tvilum	Gern	Skanderborg	Denmark	6						
Lyndhoved	Dover	Hjelmslev	Skanderborg	Denmark	6						
Løve	Bryrup	Tyrsting	Skanderborg	Denmark	2						
Troelstrup	Tønning	Tyrsting	Skanderborg	Denmark		1				2	
Troelstrup	Tønning	Tyrsting	Skanderborg	Denmark	3						
Tåning Mark	Tåning	Voer	Skanderborg	Denmark						2	
Grønlund	Østbirk	Voer	Skanderborg	Denmark	7						
Hage	Hammer	Vrads	Skanderborg	Denmark						2	
Haraldsted	Haraldsted	Ringsted	Sorø	Denmark							
Erdrup	Hemmeshøj	Slagelse	Sorø	Denmark	7						
Tårnholm	Tårnby	Slagelse	Sorø	Denmark		7					
Bjergbymark	Slots-Bjergby	Slagelse	Sorø	Denmark				Rollen		1	
Tornemark	Fyrendal	Øster-Flakkenbjerg	Sorø	Denmark	7						
Gammel-Hestehave	Svendborg	Sunds	Svendborg	Denmark	6						
Lysemosegård	Bovense	Vindinge	Svendborg	Denmark	6					1	
Strandtved	Bovense	Vindinge	Svendborg	Denmark	7						1
Brandsbøl	Havnbjerg	Als Nørre	Sønderborg	Denmark	1						
Nordborg	Nordborg	Als Nørre	Sønderborg	Denmark	1	1				2	
Rumohrgård	Notmark	Als Sønder	Sønderborg	Denmark	2						

rings	other flint objects	amber	pendants	other	grave type	source
					barrow	Va852, J-F 533
gold spiral	piece	5 beads	slate		barrow	Ke3789B, Va550
				dagger blade	unknown	Ke3806 Va551
					barrow	Ke3852, Ke770
					barrow	Ke3875 Va474
					barrow	Ke3885
					barrow	Ke3901 Va571
				belt hook	barrow	Ke3888A, Va778
					barrow	Ke4005, Va774
					barrow	Ke4024 Va534
				ceramic sherd, textile fragment	cist grave	Ke4081A, Va 775, Ha 12, Bro I:50
arm			slate		barrow	Ke4094, Va799
					barrow	Ke4092, Va776
				pommel	barrow	Ke4632 Va821
		1 bead		pommel	barrow	Ke4642, Va800
		1 bead			barrow	Ke4651C
1 gold arm				pommel	barrow	Ke4721
					barrow	Ke4726 Va556
					?barrow	Ke4733
					barrow	K.B. Jensen & C. Fisher NM archive 1993
	knife		slate		flat	M. Hahn-Thomsen, AUD 1997:175f
					mega	Va805, Ha 52 Bro I:41
		1 bead	slate		barrow	Va814, J-F 520, Ha83
		1 bead			barrow	Va815
					barrow	Va816
					barrow	Va910
					barrow	Va797 Ha32, J-F 508
				belt hook	barrow	Va675 Ke1095
				belt hook, gold sheet band	mega/ barrow	Va678 Ke1130
					barrow	Va681, Ke1165
					mega	Ke1151I
				belt hook	barrow	Va686 Ke1212
					barrow	Va737, Ke2121
				belt hook	barrow	Va739 Ke2141B, J-F 452
				Y-palstave, chisel, fish hook, tweezers, razor, double button, spiral, pointed-weapon, pyrite, textile fragments	barrow	Va740, Ke2144C
					barrow	Ke3148, Va 750, J-F 621
				Flint axe?	barrow	Ke3159B, Va751
					barrow	Ke3243, Va752

name	parish	district	county	country	blade	nr. flint dagger	axe type	pin type	flint arrow head	spearhead	strike-a-light
Skelde	Broager	Nybøl	Sønderborg	Denmark	6					1	
Årup	Snedsted	Hassing	Thisted	Denmark	6					1	
Øster-Gasse	Skærbæk	Hviding	Tønder	Denmark	1						
Fjærsted	Spandet	Hviding	Tønder	Denmark	1.5						
Arnum	Hjørup	Hviding	Tønder	Denmark	2						
Nørre-Aldumgård	Stenderup	Hatting	Vejle	Denmark	1						
Børkop	Gauerslund	Holmans	Vejle	Denmark	1						
Givskov	Give	Nørvang	Vejle	Denmark	1						
Åsbjerggård	Give	Nørvang	Vejle	Denmark		13					
Harresø	Giveskud	Nørvang	Vejle	Denmark						2	
Kokborg	Thyregod	Nørvang	Vejle	Denmark	1						
Mølgård	øster-Nykirke	Nørvang	Vejle	Denmark	2						
Gjøding	Nørup	Torrild	Vejle	Denmark	1						
Bindeball	Randbøl	Tørrild	Vejle	Denmark	6						
Mølgård, Sønder Resen	Resen	Fjends	Viborg	Denmark	3						1
Funder by	Funder	Hids	Viborg	Denmark						2	
Vester Skovgård V Balle		Hids	Viborg	Denmark							1
Porskærgård	Gødvad	Hids	Viborg	Denmark	1					1	1
Vellev	Vellev	Houlbjerg	Viborg	Denmark	1						
Risgård	Grønbæk	Lysgård	Viborg	Denmark		9					
Rind	Sønder-Rind	Middelsom	Viborg	Denmark	7						
Roum	Fjelsø	Rinds	Viborg	Denmark	8						
Varnæs	Varnæs	Lundtofta	Åbenrå	Denmark		8					
Dyrehave	Løjt	Rise	Åbenrå	Denmark		6					
Skrevensten	Løjt	Rise	Åbenrå	Denmark							1
Gunderusgård	Strandby	Gislum	Ålborg	Denmark	7	3				1	
Ersted by	Årrestrup	Hvorum	Ålborg	Denmark		3				1	
Borum Eshøj	Borum	Framlev	Århus	Denmark		9					
Hundslund	Hundslund	Hads	Århus	Denmark		9					
Schneiderwald	Ober-Mörlen	Wetterau	Hessen	Germany	1	1	Lochhals				
Sögel		Aschendorf-Hümmling	Lower Saxony	Germany	1	2					2
Sögel		Aschendorf-Hümmling	Lower Saxony	Germany	1						2
Wehm		Aschendorf-Hümmling	Lower Saxony	Germany		13					
Offensen	Heslinge	Bremervörde	Lower Saxony	Germany		1			11		
Ehestorf		Bremervörde	Lower Saxony	Germany	6	12				1	
Aligse	Stadt Lehrte	Burgdorf	Lower Saxony	Germany		1			1		
Baven		Celle	Lower Saxony	Germany	2		Schwellhals		17		2
Hagen	Hagen	Celle	Lower Saxony	Germany	1				10		
Wohlde-RoxhüllenDohnsen		Celle	Lower Saxony	Germany	2	2			13		1
Emstek		Cloppenburg	Lower Saxony	Germany		2					

rings	other flint objects	amber	pendants	other	grave type	source
					barrow	Va756, Ke3296, J-F 623
				dagger blade	barrow	Ke5013A
					barrow	Ke2901e Va822
gold spiral					flat	Ke2905, Va 744
					flat	Va743 Ke2880
arm		6 beads		twisted wire	barrow	Ke4342A, Va780
					barrow	Ke4348 Va781
					barrow	Ke4426 Va783
					barrow	Ke4432A, Va574
					barrow	Ke4435 Va784
					barrow	Ke4475 Va786, Ha 41 Bro 44a
	blade			wooden bowl	barrow	Ke4497A Va787
					barrow	Ke4560A Va788
				belt hook	barrow	Ke4570C, Va789, Ha8, Bro921
				probable pommel, tweezers, fish hook	barrow	Va806 Ha53
					barrow	Va867, J-F 575
				tweezers, pyrite	barrow	K.B. Jensen, AUD 1998:184
	scraper			pyrite, vessel	barrow	K.B. Jensen AUD 1989:160, NM archive
					cist grave	Va817 Ha 90
					barrow	Va494
					barrow	Va809
					barrow	Va810
					?barrow	Ke3001 Va398
					barrow	Ke3042, Va365
		3 buttons		belt hook	barrow	Ke3047, Va747
				ferrule	cist grave	Va519, J-F 546
					burial	Va516
					barrow	Va429
					barrow	Va484
				gold thread, 5 small tutuli	barrow	Kubach 1973
				whetstone	barrow	B L1:25 L(2000) 191 Ha 325 GS 77
				whetstone	barrow	B L1:26 Ha 326 GS 77
					barrow	B L1:27, GS79a
					barrow	B L1:7
	spearhead			belt hook, razor	barrow	BL2:22, L4
					barrow	B L1:15 L (2000)211
	spitze			sögel blade	barrow	BL1:12, L13 B, Ha289a+b, Piesker 1937:120ff
					barrow	L 38C
	flake				barrow	BL1:13, L32I, Ha 344, Piesker 1937:131ff
					barrow	L(2000)190, GS10

name	parish	district	county	country	blade	nr. flint dagger	axe type	pin type	flint arrow head	spearhead	strike-a-light
Altenoythe	Stadt Friesoythe	Cloppenburg	Lower Saxony	Germany			2				
Heine	Wulsbüttel	Cuxhaven	Lower Saxony	Germany	1		1		2		
Gudendorf	Stadt Cuxhaven	Cuxhaven	Lower Saxony	Germany			1				
Stadt Cuxhaven		Cuxhaven	Lower Saxony	Germany			13				
Stapelage		Detmold	Lower Saxony	Germany			1				
Fallingbostel		Fallingbostel	Lower Saxony	Germany				1 wheel-headed			
Klein-Henstedt		Hoya	Lower Saxony	Germany	2						
Vorwohlde	Nordsülingen	Diepholz	Lower Saxony	Germany				2 Nagelkopf	8	4	1
Vorwohlde	Nordsülingen	Diepholz	Lower Saxony	Germany	1		1		2		1
Reinshof	Friedlund	Göttingen	Lower Saxony	Germany			13				
Laatzten-Grasdorf		Hannover-land	Lower Saxony	Germany	2			pin			
Garlstorf		Harburg	Lower Saxony	Germany	1		1				
Hitzacker		Lüchow-Dannenberg	Lower Saxony	Germany	1.5					4	
Bokeloh		Neustadt am Rübenberge	Lower Saxony	Germany	1		1				
Langendamm	Stadt Nienburg	Nienburg	Lower Saxony	Germany	4		1		1		1
Langendamm	Stadt Nienburg	Nienburg	Lower Saxony	Germany			1		1		1
Barglay	Wildeshausen	Oldenburg	Lower Saxony	Germany	1			pin	9		
Buscher Heide	Dötlingen	Oldenburg	Lower Saxony	Germany	1						
Feldhake	Dötlingen	Oldenburg	Lower Saxony	Germany	3				4		
Mellinghausen		Diepholz	Lower Saxony	Germany	1						
Rotenberg		Osterode	Lower Saxony	Germany				Rollen			
Oberchtenhausen Sandbostel		Rotenburg	Lower Saxony	Germany			2				
Bockel		Soltau	Lower Saxony	Germany	1		2		6		
Harsefeld		Stade	Lower Saxony	Germany			1	Geradenschaft			
Helmste	Dienste	Stade	Lower Saxony	Germany	1		2		2		
Schwinge	Fredenbeck	Stade	Lower Saxony	Germany			14				
Rethwisch	Goldenstedt	Vechta	Lower Saxony	Germany			1		4		
Grapperhausen	Neuenkirchen	Vechta	Lower Saxony	Germany	1		1				
Luttum		Verden	Lower Saxony	Germany	1.5		1		3		
Ramelsen	Klirchlinteln	Verden	Lower Saxony	Germany			1				
Holßel		Cuxhaven	Lower Saxony	Germany	2				1		
Hamburg-Harburg			Lower Saxony	Germany	2			parts of 2			
Bierde		Minden-Lübbecke	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Germany	1						

rings	other flint objects	amber	pendants	other	grave type	source
					barrow	L(2000)192, GS6
				ceramic sherds	barrow	L (2000) 216
					barrow	L(2000)207
					burial	L(2000)239
					barrow	GS250
8 neck, 2 arm-spirals, 3 finger-spirals, Lockenring		12 beads	7 heart-shaped bronze	47 bronze tubes, 32 studs, awl	unknown	Laux 1972
					barrow	GS174
				pyrite + tip of bronze spearhead/dagger?	barrow	B L1:19, Ha 337, GS148, Sprockhoff1930:195ff, J-F 896
				Remains of a wooden handle	barrow	B L1:20 L(2000) 224 Ha 338, GS148, Sprockhoff 1930:198ff
				stone axe	grave?	NNU64(2):321
				ceramic sherd	barrow	NNU42:234f
					?	B L1:8, Ha 302
					?	B L1:10, Ha 308, J-F 989
					burial in gravel pit	BL1:14, L(2000) 203, Ha294
				pyrite	barrow	B L1:17
				ceramic sherd	barrow	B L1:18 L(2000)206, GS194
arm					cist grave	B L1:22, GS21
				vessel	barrow	B L1:23, GS24
	blade, scraper				barrow	B L1:24
					barrow	GS133
					barrow	NNU42:238f
					cist grave	L(2000)194
Lockeringen					barrow	BL1:11, L334B, L(2000) 184, Ha292
small gold spiral					barrow	B L1:2, L 385 L(2000)201, Ha 306, We 1949:53f
				ceramic sherd	flat	B L1:3, L 388, L(2000) 185, Ha 307, We 1949:52f
					barrow	L409
				whetstone, vessel	barrow	B L1:21 Ha347, GS59
					barrow	Vogt:213, L(2000)202, GS51&52
					barrow	B L1:16 L(2000) 200
					barrow	L(2000)231
					barrow	B L1:6
				textile remains	barrow	B L1:9, We 1949:70ff
					probably barrow	Vogt:56, Günter 1974

name	parish	district	county	country	blade	nr. flint dagger	axe type	pin type	flint arrow head	spearhead	strike-a-light
Bosau		Eutin	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany				Rollen. M. Tordiertem Schaftobertiel			
Sierhagen		Oldenburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany				Rollen			
Rastorf		Plön	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	2				6		
Rastorf		Plön	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	8				1		
Gokels	Gokels	Rendsburg-Eckernförde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Ohrsee	Gokels	Rendsburg-Eckernförde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany				Lochhalspaarstadl			
Ohrsee	Gokels	Rendsburg-Eckernförde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	4						
Blocksdorf	Langwedel	Rendsburg-Eckernförde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	4	VI					
Schülp	Schülp bei Nortorf	Rendsburg-Eckernförde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany		Via		Rollenkopf			
Schülp	Schülp bei Nortorf	Rendsburg-Eckernförde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	4						
Schülp	Schülp bei Nortorf	Rendsburg-Eckernförde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany		1					
Todenbüttel	Todenbüttel	Rendsburg-Eckernförde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany					3		
Fahrenkrug		Segeberg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany				Rollennadel mit tortiertem			
Tensfeld		Segeberg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany				Rollen			
Nebel	Nebel	Amrum	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	6	1	8	Kugelkopf			
Nebel	Nebel	Amrum	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	6			pin			
Nebel	Nebel	Amrum	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Nebel	Nebel	Amrum	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	6			Rollen, fibula			
Norddorf	Norddorf	Amrum	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany				Rollen			
Albersdorf	Albersdorf	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	2						
Albersdorf	Albersdorf	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Brickeln	Brickeln	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Buchholz	Buchholz	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Buchholz	Buchholz	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany		1					

rings	other flint objects	amber	pendants	other	grave type	source
arm-spiral				awl	barrow	Ha167a, Kersten 1936:155
spiral-finger ring				bronze spirals	barrow	Ha228
			slate	belt hook	barrow	UZ DHS 466f, Bokelmann 1977
					barrow	UZ DHS 466e, Bokelmann 1977
					burial	Ke9612
	scraper, sickle, 2 flakes				barrow	Ke9614B
					barrow	Ke9620, Ha211
	blade				barrow	Ke9663B, Ha170
3 small rings		7 beads		awl, ceramic vessel	barrow	Ke9707A, Ha227a
1 gold spiral					barrow	Ke9707B, Ha227b
					barrow	Ke9707C, Ha227c
					barrow	Ke9748, J-F752
2 arm-spirals, 2 Lockenringen		19 beads	2 heart- shaped		barrow	Ha174
				ceramic sherds, awl	barrow	Ha232b
		10 beads		dagger blade, awl, pyrite	barrow	Ke2579A
					barrow	Ke2592G
				cattlehorn, textile remains	barrow	Ke2596
				pommel plate	barrow	Ke2606B
2 arm, 1 ankel		5 beads		vessel, tutulus	barrow	Ke2617A
					barrow	Ke9006, Ha161b
					barrow	Ke9015
					barrow	Ke9049
					barrow	Ke9054
					barrow	Ke9059

name	parish	district	county	country	blade	nr. flint dagger	axe type	pin type	flint arrow head	spearhead	strike-a-light
Bunsoh	Bunsoh	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1	1			1		
Frestedt	Frestedt	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany				Kugelkopf			
Frestedt	Frestedt	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Glüsing	Glüsing	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany			9				
Glüsing	Glüsing	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1		10				
Gudendorf	Gudendorf	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	6						
Gudendorf	Gudendorf	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Krempel	Krempel	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Pahlkrug	Linden	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany			13			1	
Schaftstedt	Schaftstedt	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	2						1
Quickborn	Quickborn	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	6		13				
Lendern	Süderdorf	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	6						
Süderhastedt	Süderhastedt	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Tensbüttel	Tensbüttel-Röst	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Tensbüttel	Tensbüttel-Röst	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	2	1					
Windbergen	Windbergen	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany			9				
?	?	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
?	?	Dithmarchen	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Utersum	Utersum	Föhr	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	6						
Oldersbek	Oldersbek	Husum	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany			1				
Homfeld		Rendsburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1		13				
Bohnert	Bohnert	Rendsburg-Eckernförde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Bohnert	Bohnert	Rendsburg-Eckernförde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Bohnert	Bohnert	Rendsburg-Eckernförde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						

rings	other flint objects	amber	pendants	other	grave type	source
				whetstone	barrow	Ke9071
				awl	in urn	Ke9101
					barrow	Ke9109
					barrow	Ke9117
gold spiral			slate		barrow	Ke9121B
					barrow	Ke9138
gold spiral finger					barrow	Ke9139
					?	Ke9167
					flat	Ke9182, J-F 716
	strike-a-light	1 bead		whetstone	possible cremation burial	Ke9226A
					barrow	Ke9206
					barrow	Ke9240
					barrow	Ke9248
					barrow	Ke9260ID
	strike-a-light			pyrite, 2 gold covered tutul	barrow	Ke9261A
					barrow	Ke9283
					?	Ke9299
					?	Ke9338
				pommel plate	cremation in barrow	Ke2652A
					barrow	Ke2825
					barrow	Ha 187, Vogt:264, Ke9526
					barrow	Ke2485
					barrow	Ke2486A
					barrow	Ke2487B

name	parish	district	county	country	blade	nr. flint dagger	axe type	pin type	flint arrow head	spearhead	strike-a-light
Schoolbek	Kosel	Rendsburg-Eckernförde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	6			Rollen			
Bargstedt	Bargstedt	Rendsburg-Eckernförde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany		1		Kugelkopf			
Sönderbyhof	Rieseby	Rendsburg-Eckernförde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1	1	13				
Flensburg		Schleswig-Flensburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Flensburg		Schleswig-Flensburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany		1		Rollen			
Flensburg		Schleswig-Flensburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	6						
Kleinwolstrup	Freienwil	Schleswig-Flensburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany							
Sörup	Sörup	Schleswig-Flensburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany			8				
Sörup	Sörup	Schleswig-Flensburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Sörup	Sörup	Schleswig-Flensburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Steingerholz	Steinberg	Schleswig-Flensburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Hüsby	Hüsby	Schleswig-Flensburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany			8	Rollen		2	
Berend	Neuberend	Schleswig-Flensburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	2.5						
Berend	Neuberend	Schleswig-Flensburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	6						
Schuby	Schuby	Schleswig-Flensburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany			8				
Schuby	Schuby	Schleswig-Flensburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Hohenaspe	Hohenaspe	Steinburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1	1					2
Hohenlockstedt	Hohenlockstedt	Steinburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	6			frag Rollen			
Hohenlockstedt	Hohenlockstedt	Steinburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	6						
Hohenlockstedt	Hohenlockstedt	Steinburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						
Ridders	Hohenlockstedt	Steinburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany				Rollen			
Itzeho	Itzeho	Steinburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany						2	
Lockstedt	Lockstedt	Steinburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	6						
Reher	Reher	Steinburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany			8				
Reher	Reher	Steinburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1						

rings	other flint objects	amber	pendants	other	grave type	source
		1 bead	amber		barrow	Ke2520A
				vessel	barrow	Ke9528A
					barrow	Ke2547
				ceramic sherds	barrow	Ke 2187
					barrow	Ke 2188 E
		1 bead		chape	barrow	Ke 2188 H
				chisel	barrow	Ke 2207
					barrow	Ke2301E
	scraper			ceramic sherd	barrow	Ke 2302
					?barrow	Ke2304
					barrow	Ke2310B
			slate	vessel	barrow	Ke2362G
					barrow	Ke2385C Ha163a
		3 beads			barrow	Ke2385D Ha163b
				ceramic sherd	barrow	Ke2408H
			slate		barrow	Ke2408K
				knife?	barrow	Ke 9379A
2 spirals, 2 arm-spirals		12 beads		vessel, awl	barrow	Ke9393A, Ha200a
					barrow	Ke9393B, Ha220b
			slate	pyrite	barrow	Ke9397, Ha203
		5 beads			barrow	Ke9398D, Ha202b
					barrow	Ke9415, J-F 779
					barrow	Ke9437
					barrow	Ke9490A
					barrow	Ke9493

name	parish	district	county	country	blade	nr. flint dagger	axe type	pin type	flint arrow head	spearhead	strike-a-light
Reher	Reher	Steinburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany			8				
Reher	Reher	Steinburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	1	1					
Kampen	Kampen	Sylt	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany			13				
Keitum	Sylt-Ost	Sylt	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany							
Morsum	Sylt-Ost	Sylt	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	6						
Tinum	Sylt-Ost	Sylt	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	2						
Tinum	Sylt-Ost	Sylt	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany				pin			
Wenningstedt	Wenningstedt	Sylt	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany	6						
Thierschneck		Eisenberg	Thüringen	Germany	1	1					
Etteln		Büren	Westfalen	Germany	2	3					1
Haaren		Büren	Westfalen	Germany	2	13		Schwellhals			
Wünnenberg		Büren	Westfalen	Germany	1	3					
Wünnenberg		Büren	Westfalen	Germany	1	3					
Wünnenberg		Büren	Westfalen	Germany	3			Schwellhals			
Wünnenberg		Büren	Westfalen	Germany	6			Nagelkopf			
Herstelle		Höxter	Westfalen	Germany	2				4	1	
Delbrück		Paderborn	Westfalen	Germany	1	3		Schwellhals			
Drouwen		Borger	Drenthe	Holland	1	1			9		1
Zeijen		Fries	Drenthe	Holland	1						
Aspösund	Nättraby		Blekinge	Sweden						2,2	
Virentofta	Malmö		Skåne	Sweden						2	
Kvarnby	Husie		Skåne	Sweden	1						
Elinelund	Malmö		Skåne	Sweden	7						
Säby	Barva		Södermanland	Sweden							
Kullabro	Gudhem		Västergötland	Sweden	1						

rings	other flint objects	amber	pendants	other	grave type	source
					barrow	Ke9498
					barrow	Ke9499
					barrow	Ke2679
2 spirals		1 bead		vessel, awl	barrow	Ke2716B
2 gold spirals					barrow	Ke2730A
		1 bead		1 glass bead	barrow	Ke2742B Ha 235, Schloß Gottrof Karl Kersten
		2 beads		vessel	barrow	Ke2756 Ha 234
					barrow	Ke2772
	splinter			ceramic sherd	barrow	Kubach 1973, Ha 393
	splinter			pyrite	barrow	B L1:30, Ha 360, GS236
					barrow	B L1:31, GS 237
					barrow	B L1:32, GS241
gold Noppenring					barrow	B L1:33 Ha 367, GS241
					barrow	B L1:34 GS 241
					barrow	B L1:35 GS 241
				pyrite	barrow	B L1:28 Ha 363, J-F 1262, GS269
2 golden spiral tubes				chisel	barrow	B L1:29, GS 313
2 gold spiral				whetstone	barrow	Ha 634, Butler 1986:149f
				whetstone	barrow	Ha 638
					cairn	O1495, J-F132
					inhumation	O534, J-F50, Hå93
				belt hook	barrow	O523IA, Hå55, Hansen 1938.30ff
					stone coffin	Hå60, SHM 12192, O529
				belt hook	cairn	Thedeén 2004:90, SHM 3970:6, OI 2713
					cairn?	V321, Sarauw & Alin 1923:234

Appendices 2-4:

Material used for the south Scandinavian case studies in chapter 4

The objects are made of bronze unless otherwise stated, except for the ceramic objects which are described as 'vessels' or 'sherds'. The number in the column represents the quantity of this type of object found in the burial.

All of the parishes in appendix 2 are situated in Sokkelund district, København County; all of the places in appendix 3 are within Hesselager parish, Gudme district, Svendborg County; and all of the places in appendix 4 are in the area around Schleswig, Schleswig-Holstein.

'Frag' = fragment or fragmentary.

Sources

Freudenberg 2007 = Freudenberg, Mechtild. 2007. Ein Fürst in der Provinz? Grab und Kultanlage von Hüsby, In: Freudenberg, M. (ed.), Tod und Jenseits. Totenbrauchtum in Schleswig-Holstein von der Jungsteinzeit bis zur Eisenzeit. Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloß Gottorf, Schleswig.

Kexx = number in the Anér and Kersten volumes. Anér, Ekkehard & Kersten, Karl. Die Funde der älteren Bronzezeit des nordischen Kreises in Dänemark, Schleswig-Holstein und Niedersachsen. Volumes 1, 3 & 4. Karl Wachholz Verlag, Neumünster.

Kersten 1954 = 1954. Untersuchung von fünf Grabhügeln der jüngeren Stein- und älteren Bronzezeit in Klein Dannewerk, Kr Schleswig. Germania 42:280-286.

Sexx = Sehested, N.F.B. 1884. Archæologiske Undersøgelser 1879-1881. (Published posthumously), C.A. Reitzel, Copenhagen.

The different mound groups are all located in county Celle, in Lower Saxony.

name	parish	sword	dagger	pin/fibula	double button	knife	razor	tweezer	flint objects	arm-rings	finger-ring	neck collar/ring	belt plate	tutulus	belt hook	other	period	source
Charlottenlund	Gentofte	1															MBA	Ke366A
Charlottenlund	Gentofte		1 gold inlay	pin	1	2									1 gold inlay		Pil	Ke366B
Jægersborg	Gentofte	1		pin, fibula bow	1	1	1	1	1	1						leather remains	Pil	Ke369
Jægersborg	Gentofte	1															? Pil	Ke370
Jægersborg	Gentofte	1								2 spiral	1		1				Pil	Ke371
Klampenborg	Gentofte																MBA	Ke372A
Klampenborg	Gentofte	1		fibula		1										pommel	Pil	Ke372B
Smakkegård?	Gentofte	1														chape	Pil	Ke374
Stolpegård	Gentofte	1															Pil	Ke375
Bagsværd	Gladsaxe		1									collar	1				Pil	Ke377
Bagsværd	Gladsaxe																MBA	Ke378B
Bagsværd	Gladsaxe													1			Pil	Ke378C
Bagsværd	Gladsaxe																MBA	Ke378D
Buddinge	Gladsaxe									2 spiral		collar	1	8		comb	Pil	Ke379

name	parish	sword	dagger	pin/fibula	dubbe/button	knife	razor	tweezer	flint objects	arm-rings	finger-ring	neck collar/ring	belt plate	tutulus	belt hook	other	period	source
Buddinge	Gladsakse																MBA	Ke380
Buddinge	Gladsakse	1		golden lochhals									1			spearhead, 'pointed weapon', goldenspiral	PIB	Ke381
Gladsakse	Gladsakse	1														pommel	PIII	Ke382F
Gladsakse	Gladsakse										1	1					PII	Ke382G
Gladsakse	Gladsakse																MBA	Ke382H
Gladsakse	Gladsakse								arrowhead							2 skeletons	MBA	Ke382J
Gladsakse	Gladsakse	1				1	1	1	strike-a-light							leather remians	PII	Ke382K
Gladsakse	Gladsakse																MBA	Ke382L
Gladsakse	Gladsakse								arrowhead								MBA	Ke382M
Gladsakse	Gladsakse																MBA	Ke382N
Søborg	Gladsakse					1				1							PIII	Ke383
Hvidegård	Lyng-Tårnbæk					1					1						PIII	Ke395
Hvidegård	Lyng-Tårnbæk	1		fibula	1		1									pommel	PIII	Ke396A
Hvidegård	Lyng-Tårnbæk															pommel	PIII	Ke396B
Hvidegård	Lyng-Tårnbæk												1				MBA	Ke397
Hvidegård	Lyng-Tårnbæk			fibula pin													PIII	Ke398
Hvidegård	Lyng-Tårnbæk								piece of flint, strike-a-light							textile frag, leather remains, pommel, chape, other animal remains, amber bead	PIII	Ke399
Jægersborg Dyrehave	Lyng-Tårnbæk				1												PIII	Ke400

name	parish	sword	dagger	pin/fibula	dublebutton	knife	razor	tweezer	flint objects	arm-rings	finger-ring	neck collar/ring	belt plate	tutulus	belt hook	other	period	source
Jægersborg Dyrehave	Lyngby-Tårnbæk	1															P III	Ke401
Lundtofte	Lyngby-Tårnbæk1																MBA	Ke403
Lyngby	Lyngby-Tårnbæk2								strike-a-light								P III	Ke404
Lyngby	Lyngby-Tårnbæk	1															MBA	Ke405
Sorgenfri	Lyngby-Tårnbæk1								strike-a-light			collar					mixed	Ke406
Sorgenfri	Lyngby-Tårnbæk	1														axe, pommel, pyrite	P II	Ke407
By Holte	Søllerød	1															?P III	Ke414
Holte	Søllerød	1			1								1		tubes		mixed	Ke415
Jægersborg HegnSøllerød		1											4	1	gold disc, axe, chisel, awl, vessel		P II	Ke417
Jægersborg HegnSøllerød		1						strike-a-light				1			axe		P II	Ke418
Jægersborg HegnSøllerød		1													awl/pin, pommel		P II	Ke419
Jægersborg HegnSøllerød				pin													MBA	Ke420A
Jægersborg HegnSøllerød		1															MBA	Ke420B
Jægersborg HegnSøllerød															ring		MBA	Ke420C

[illegible]

name	sword	dagger	axe	spearhead	pin/fibula	double button	knife	razor	tweezer	flint objects	arm-rings	finger-ring	neck collar/ring	belt plate	tutulus	belt hook	other	period	source
Danneverk	2				pin						3					2 gold Lockenringen, PIII part of pommel		98145,451	Ke2338A, Kersten 1954:280ff
Danneverk																		MBA	Ke2338B
Danneverk																		MBA	Ke2339A, Kersten 1954:283
Danneverk									2 daggers									MBA	Ke2339B, Kersten 1954:283
Danneverk																		98145,451	98145,451
98145,451					pin			1	strike-a-light							2 amber beads		PII	Ke2340
Danneverk																		MBA	Ke2341A
Danneverk																		MBA	Ke2341B
Danneverk																		98145,451	98145,451
98145,451																awl		MBA	Ke2342
Danneverk	1											gold						MBA	Ke2343
Fahrdorf									strike-a-light							bronze fragment		MBA	Ke2346A
Fahrdorf																		MBA	Ke2346B
Fahrdorf																		MBA	Ke2346C
Fahrdorf																		MBA	Ke2346D
Fahrdorf																		MBA	Ke2346E
Fahrdorf																		MBA	Ke2346F
Fahrdorf																		MBA	Ke2346G
Fahrdorf																		MBA	Ke2347A
Fahrdorf																		MBA	Ke2347B
Fahrdorf	1															98145,451		98145,451	98145,451
98145,451	2	1							dagger							chisel		mixed	Ke2348
Fahrdorf																awl		?PII	Ke2349
Hüby					frag fibula											oak-log coffin, wood + textile remains, sherds		PII	Ke2361

Appendix 4

name	sword	dagger	axe	spearhead	pin/fibula	double button	knife	razor	tweezer	flint objects	arm-rings	finger-ring	neck collar/ring	belt plate	tutulus	belt hook	other	period	source
Hüby																		MBA	Ke2362B
Hüby																		MBA	Ke2362C
Hüby																		MBA	Ke2362D
Hüby																		MBA	Ke2362F
Hüby		1	1	1	pin											sherds, slate pendant		PIB	Ke2362G
Hüby																		MBA	Ke2362H
Hüby										dagger						2 amber beads, awl		PII	Ke2362J
Hüby																		MBA	Ke2362K
Hüby																		MBA	Ke2363
Hüby																		MBA	Ke2364A
Hüby																		MBA	Ke2364B
Hüby	1															2 gold Lockenringen, part of pommel		MBA	Freudenberg 2007
Hüby	1	1	1	1	1	pin, fibula	1	1	1	strike-a-light					1	gold arm-ring or clothing object		PII	Freudenberg 2007
Jagel																		MBA	Ke2368A
Jagel																		MBA	Ke2368B
Berend																		MBA	Ke2385A
Berend																		MBA	Ke2385B
Berend	1																	PIB	Ke2385C
Berend	1															3 amber beads		PIB	Ke2385D
Berend																		MBA	Ke2386E
Neuberend	1															textile fragment		MBA	Ke2387
Füsing											1 gold							MBA	Ke2392
Füsing										dagger						slate pendant		MBA	Ke2393
Moldenit	1	1	1	1												pommel		PII	Ke2394

	name	sword	dagger	axe	spearhead	pin/fibula	double button	knife	razor	tweezer	tip						arm-rings	finger-ring	neck collar/ring	belt plate	tutulus	belt hook	other	period	source
	Schuby	1									1	strike-a-light									2	pommel, pyrite	P II	MBA	Ke2412E
	Schuby			1																					Ke2413
	Schuby																						?MBA	?MBA	Ke2414B
	Schuby																						?MBA	?MBA	Ke2414C
	Schuby																					amber ring	?MBA	?MBA	Ke2414D
	Schuby	1	1						1	1												pommel	P II	P II	Ke2414E
	Schuby						1	1	1														P III	P III	Ke2414F
	Schuby																						?MBA	?MBA	Ke2414G
	Schuby						1												ring		1		P III	P III	Ke2414H
	Schuby		1					1															P III	P III	Ke2414J
	Schuby																						MBA	MBA	Ke2414K
	Schuby																					vessel	P III	P III	Ke2415
	Schuby	1																					MBA	MBA	Ke2416
	Schuby		1															gold					MBA	MBA	Ke2417
	Schuby						1		1	1													P III	P III	Ke2419
	Altmühl																						P III	P III	Ke2420
	Altmühl									1													P III	P III	Ke2421
	Altmühl																						MBA	MBA	Ke2422
	Nieder-Selk	2		1								1						1				1 spiral ring	mixed	mixed	Ke2423
	Selk	1																					P III	P III	Ke2424
	Medelspang	1																					P III	P III	Ke2425

Appendix 5:

Material used for the Lüneburg case study in chapter 4

Unless otherwise indicated the object is of bronze.

Min.= minimum number of objects (this generally concerns bronze studs and tubes).

Lü = Lüneburgischen/Lüneburg type.

The numbers written in the column stand for the number of objects of this type that are found in the grave, with the exception of the column 'fibulae and pins', where they stand for different types of fibulae or pins (see below).

Fibulae

- 1 Haarknotenfibula, fibula placed on the back of the head
- 2 Fibula
- 3 Fibula pin, same or similar type of pin as the pin in the fibula
- 4 Fragments of a fibula
- 5 Fibula pin placed at the back of the head

Pins (there is only one grave with more than one pin)

- 1 Lüneburger wheel-headed pin version A
- 2 Lüneburger wheel-headed pin version B
- 3 Lüneburger wheel-headed pin version E
- 4 Lüneburger wheel-headed pin version F
- 5 Lüneburger wheel-headed pin version ?
- 6 Wheel-headed pin version B
- 7 Wheel-headed pin version C
- 8 Wheel-headed pin version G
- 9 Wheel-headed pin version H
- 10 Rollennadel
- 11 Böhmischen disc headed pin
- 12 Ornamented Lüneburger Disc headed pin
- 13 Lüneburger disc headed pin
- 14 Nagel und Plattenkopfnadel
- 15 Schwergerippte nadel mit kugelkopf
- 16 Spiral headed pin
- 17 other + unknown

The abbreviations in the 's' column are listed below:

Rings (after Laux 1971)

- | | |
|---------|--|
| AR | Arm-ring |
| AR: VA1 | Arm-ring variant A1 |
| AR: VA2 | Arm-ring variant A2 |
| AR: VB1 | Arm-ring variant B1 |
| AR: VC1 | Arm-ring variant C1 |
| AR: VC2 | Arm-ring variant C2 |
| AR: VD2 | Arm-ring variant D2 |
| ARB | Armberge (Arm-ring with spiral ends) |
| AS | Arm-spirals |
| BR | Ankle-ring |
| BRB | Fußberge (Ankle-ring with spiral ends) |
| BR: Va | Ankle-ring variant a |
| BR: Vb | Ankle-ring variant b |
| BSR | Ankle-ring ring |
| FR | Finger-ring |

FRB Fingerberge (Finger-ring with spiral ends)

FSR finger spiral ring

SR Spiral ring

SAR: X ribbed arm-ring X = number of ribs

SBR: Va Simple ankle-ring variant a

SBR: Vb Simple ankle-ring variant b

In the column 'inhumation/cremation', I = inhumation burial and C = cremation burial.

The last column contains the burials that are dated by Laux (1971) to one of his phases, e.g. M1 = male phase I, and so forth.

Sources

BALx:xx = list and number in the catalogue in Bergmann, Joseph. 1970. *Die ältere Bronzezeit Nordwestdeutschland. Neue Methoden zur Ethnischen und Historischen Interpretation Urgeschichtlicher Quellen*. Teil A. N. G. Kasseler Beiträge zur vor- und Frühgeschichte Vol 2. Elwert Verlag, Marburg.

Lxx = number in the catalogue in Laux, Friedrich. 1971. *Die Bronzezeit in der Lüneburger Heide*, August Lax Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim.

Pxx = number in the catalogue in Piesker, Hans. 1958. *Untersuchungen zur Älteren Lüneburgischen Bronzezeit. Veröffentlichung des Nordwestdeutschen Verbandes für Altertumsforschung und der Urgeschichtlichen Sammlung des Landesmuseums Hannover, Lüneburg*.

H.L. Kxx = inventory number in Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover

name	mound group	mound	grave	bronze studs	bronze tubes	bronze spirals	Lockenring	Typ of fibula	neck ring/collars	pin type	number of pendants	types of rings	number of axes
Bleckmar	amKukkucksbusch	1	I							17			
Bleckmar	am Wittenberg	2								14		1 AR:VD2, SBR:Va	
Bleckmar	Kahlberg	3	I	min. 200	yes	yes	4	1	1 collar	1		2 AS, 1 BRB	
Bleckmar	Kahlberg	3	II										1
Bleckmar	Kahlberg	3	III									part of ring	
Bleckmar	Kahlberg	4	I									1 AS	
Bleckmar	Kahlberg	4	?							17		part of ring	
Bleckmar	Kahlberg	5	I										
Bleckmar	Kahlberg	5	II					4		11		1 AR: VC1	
Bleckmar	Kahlberg	5	III							10		1 AR: VA1, 1 smaller ring	
Bleckmar	Kahlberg	5	IV				1 gold	2				1 AR: VC1, 1 BR:Va	
Bleckmar	Kahlberg	6						3					
Bleckmar	Kahlberg	?	I										
Bleckmar	Kahlberg	?	II										
Bleckmar	Kahlberg	?	III										
Bleckmar	Wittenberg	4	I					2					
Bleckmar	Wittenberg	4	II							11			1
Bleckmar	Wittenberg	4	IIIa			yes	2			7	7	1 AR: VB1, 1 AR: VC1, 1 AS, 1 BR: Va	
Bleckmar	Wittenberg	4	IIIb					2				1 AR: VA1	
Bleckmar	Wittenberg	4	IV	min. 100	yes	yes							
Bleckmar	Wittenberg	4	V			yes	3		1 collar	6		1 gold ring, 1 smaller gold spiral, 1 SR, 2 AS, 1 BRB	
Bleckmar	Wittenberg	4	VI							11		1 AR: VC1	
Bleckmar	Wittenberg	6								10			
Bleckmar	Wittenberg	7						2					
Bleckmar	Wittenberg	8	I					3					
Bleckmar	Wittenberg	8	II					2				SBR: Va	
Bleckmar	Wittenberg	8	III										
Bleckmar	Wittenberg	8	IV										
Bleckmar	Wittenberg	8	?							3		SAR:7	
Bleckmar	Wittenberg	9	I					3		17			

number of daggers	nr. flint arrow heads	ceramic vessel/sherd	other	inhumation/ cremation	disturbed	sources	Laux date
	1	1	gold spiral, organic remains	I	no	P18, L20, BAL2:42, H.L. K938-971:76 + K1197:76	
1	4		organic remains	I	no	P19, L21A, BAL2:43	MIII
			textile fragments, organic remains	I	no	P12, L19A, BAL7:48	FIII
1			organic remains	I	yes	L19A	MII
				I	no	L19A, H.L. K1180:76	
			organic remains	C	no	L19B	
	1			?	?	L18B grabung Meyer	
	1			I	no	P13, L19C, BAL9:7	
	1		organic remains	I	yes	P14, L19C, BAL9:8	MIII
	1	1	bronze spiral part of an unidentified object	I	no	P15, L19C, BAL2:41	MII
	11		organic remains	I	no	P16, L19C, BAL2:39	MIII
1	2	1		I	no	P17, L19D, BAL2:40	MI
				I	no	L19E	
				C	no	L19E	
				C	no	L19E	
	8	1	organic remains	I	no	P20, L21B, BAL2:44	MIII
1		1	1 gold spiral, organic remains	I	no	P21, L21B, BAL2:45	MII
			1 "diadem", textile fragments, organic remains	I	no	P22, L21B, BAL7:49	FIII
	2			I	no	P23, L21B, BAL2:46	MIII
				C	no	P24, L21B, BAL7:50	
			1 "diadem", 1 disc	I	no	P25, L21B, BAL7:51	FIIb
1				I	no	P26, L21B, BAL7:52	MII
			burnt acorn	I	no	P27, L21C, BAL2:47	
				I	no	P28, L21D, BAL9:9	
				C	no	P29, L21E, BAL9:10, H.L. K867-68:76	
				I	no	P30, L21E, BAL2:48	FIII
				?	?	L21E	
				?	?	L21E	
				?	?	L.H. K871-72:76	
1			organic remains	I	no	P33, L21G, BAL9:12	MII

[illegible]

number of daggers	nr. flint arrow heads	ceramic vessel/sherd	other	inhumation/ cremation	disturbed	sources	Laux date
1	6		organic remains	I	no	P34, L21G, BAL2:49	MI
			7 discs, organic remains	I	no	P35, L21G, BAL7:53	FIIb
			thin bronze sheet, 4 buttons	I	no	P36, L21G, BAL7:54	FIII
			organic remains	I	no	L21H, L.H. K893-96:76	FIIb
			organic remains	I	no	H.L. K887-92:76	
1			organic remains	I	no	P37, L21I, BAL2:50	MII
				I	no	P38, L21I, BAL7:55	FIIb
1				?	?	L21I, H.L. K897-98:76	
		1	1 amber bead, 2 jet beads	I	no	P40, L21K, BAL7:57	FIIa
						L.H. K933-34:76	
				I	no	P39, L21L, BAL7:56	
				I	no	P32, L21F	FI
				I	no	L57A	
		1	organic remains	I	no	P86, L57B, BAL9:20, H.L. K767-68:76, K1137:76	
				I	no	L57C	
			2 spirals, 2 buttons, 1 disc, bronze object, organic remains, textile fragments	I	no	P87, L57D, BAL7:75	FIIa
1	6		flint knife, organic remains	I	no	P88, L57D, BAL2:65	MI
	5		1 hook	I	no	P89, L57E, BAL2:64	MIII
			1 disc, 1 hook, organic remains	I	no	P90, L57E, BAL7:76	FIIb
				I	no	P91, L57E, BAL9:21	
			1 hook	I	no	P92, L57E, BAL9:22	
			1 disc, organic remains	I	no	P93, L57E, BAL7:77	FIIb
				I	yes	L57F	
			organic remains	I	no	P94, L57G, BAL7:78	FI
		1	organic remains	I	no	P95, L57G, BAL9:23	
		1		I	no	P96, L57G, BAL9:24	
		1		I	no	P97, L57G, BAL9:25	
				C	no	L57G, H.L. K793:76	
				C	no	L57H, H.L. K795:76	
				I	no	P98, L57K, BAL7:79	FIIa

name	mound group	mound	grave	bronze studs	bronze tubes	bronze spirals	Lockenring	Typ of fibula	neck ring/collars	pin type	number of pendants	types of rings	number of axes
Wardböhlen	Hengstberg	10	II				2			1, 16		1 AS, 1 SBR: Vb	
Wardböhlen	Hengstberg	10	III										
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	1	I	35	36	yes	4		1 ring			2 AS	
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	1	II	120-150			2		1 collar	1		2 AS, 1 AR: VA2, 2 BRB, 1 SBR: Va	
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	2	II					2					
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	2	III							6			
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	2	IV										
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	2	I										
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	3	I										
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	3	II										
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	4	I										
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	4	III									2 smaller rings	
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	4	II										
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	5	I				2 gold	2				1 AR: VB1	
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	5	II				2 gold			14			
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	5	III										
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	6										1 SR	
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	7	I									BR	
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	7	II	yes									
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	8	I	yes	yes	yes						1 SBR: Va, 1 SBR: Vb	
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	8	II							17			
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	8	III										
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	9								11			
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	10									1	1 AR: VC2	
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	12								10		1 FSR	
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	13	I	yes	yes		1			6		1 SAR:10	
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	13	II				3			8		2 FSR, 1 FR, 2 BSR	
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	13	III							10		1 AR: VC1	
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	13	IV					2				1 AR: VB1, 1 FR	
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	14											
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	15											
Wardböhlen	Schafstallberg	16	I									2 SAR: 7 & 9, 1 AR: VB1	

number of daggers	nr. flint arrow heads	ceramic vessel/sherd	other	inhumation/ cremation	disturbed	sources	Laux date
		1		I	no	P99, L57K, BAL7:80	FIIa
1			organic remains	I	no	P100, L57K, BAL9:26	
			textile fragments	I	no	P101, L58A, BAL7:81	FIIa
			1 "diadem", 6 discs, 1 double spiral, 1 button, textile fragments, organic remains	I	no	P102, L58A, BAL7:82	FIIb
		1	organic remains	I	no	P103, L58B, BAL9:27	
			organic remains	I	yes	P104, L58B, BAL7:83	
1			organic remains	I	no	P105, L58B, BAL9:28	
				I	no	L58B	
1	7		1 flint spearhead, 1 quartzite strike-a- light, organic remains	I	no	P106, L58C, BAL2:71	MI
				I	no	L58C	
1	2			I	yes	P107, L58D, BAL2:72	
			textile frags, organic remains	C	no	P108, L58D, BAL9:29, H.L. K519--24:76, K672-74:76	
				I	no	L58D	
1			organic remains	I	no	P109, L58E, BAL2:73	MIII
1			organic remains	I	no	P110, L58E, BAL2:74	MIII
				I	no	L58E	
		1		I	no	P111, L58F, BAL9:30	
				I	no	L58G, H.L. K544-45:76	
				C	no	L58G, H.L. K543:76	
			2 spiral hooks	I	yes	P112, L58H, BAL7:84	FIIa
			1 hook	I	no	P113, L58H, BAL2:75	MIII
				C	no	L58H	
	2			I	no	P114, L58I, BAL2:76	MIII
			organic remains	I	yes	P115, L58K, BAL7:85	FIII
	1		organic remains	I	no	P116, L58M, BAL2:77	MII
			organic remains	I	no	P117, L58N, BAL7:86	FIIb
			2 buttons	I	no	P118, L58N, BAL7:87	FIIb
		1	1 hook	I	no	P119, L58N, BAL2:78	MIII
1	10		1 hook, organic remains, textile fragments	I	no	P120, L58N, BAL2:79	MIII
				I	no	L58O	
		1		I	no	P121, L58P, BAL9:31	
				C	no	P122, L58Q, BAL7:88	FI

number of daggers	nr. flint arrow heads	ceramic vessel/sherd	other	inhumation/ cremation	disturbed	sources	Laux date
1	2		organic remains	I	no	P123, L58Q, BAL2:80	MI
			1 "diadem"	I	no	P124, L58Q, BAL7:89	
		1		I	no	P125, L58R, BAL2:81	
1				I	no	P126, L58S, BAL2:82	MII
			organic remains	I	no	P127, L58T, BAL9:32	FIII
1	2			I	no	P77, L59A, BAL2:67	MIII
			bronze objects	C	no	P78, L59A, BAL7:72	
1	3		organic remains	I	no	P79, L59A, BAL2:68	MIII
			1 disc, organic remains	I	no	P80, L59B, BAL7:73	FIIb
1		1	bronze covered sheath end, organic remains	I	no	P81, L59B, BAL2:69	MII
				I	yes	P82, L59B, BAL9:19	FIIa
1			2 hooks	I	no	P83, L59B, BAL2:70	MIII
				I	no	L58B	
	1	1	organic remains	I	yes	P84, L59C, BAL2:66	FIII
		1	1 "diadem", 1 hook, organic remains	I	no	P85, L59D, BAL7:74	FIIa
	1			I	no	L58D	

Appendices 6-7:

Material used for the south
Scandinavian case studies in chapter 5

Appendix 6 comprises finds from Ars district, Holbæk County and appendix 7 finds are from Gram district, Haderslev County.

Unless otherwise stated all objects are made of bronze, except for the ceramic vessels, which are only noted as 'vessels'. The numbers in the columns stand for the total number of objects of the type specified in the column head.

In the column 'burial form' there is information about where the burial was found, i.e. in a barrow, under flat ground, in a stone cist or in a megalithic monument (= mega). Also, 'cranium' is noted if only the skull was buried, and not any other part of the body.

The burial Ke602E is osteologically determined to male.

Sources

Kexx = number in the Anér and Kersten volumes. Anér, Ekkehard & Kersten, Karl. Die Funde der älteren Bronzezeit des nordischen Kreises in Dänemark, Schleswig-Holstein und Niedersachsen. Volumes 2 & 7. Karl Wachholz Verlag, Neumünster.

name	grave nr	parish	district	sword	dagger	neck collar	belt plate	arm-ring	finger-ring	fibula	tutulus	double button	axes	razor	knife	other	burial form	period	sex + possible child	source
Kalundborg	A	Kalundborg	Ars	1	1								1				barrow	II	M	Ke602A
Kalundborg	E	Kalundborg	Ars							1							barrow	II	M	Ke602E
Kjærby		Rørby	Ars		1												stone cist in barrow	II	?	Ke615
Uggerløse		Rørby	Ars	1							1						barrow	II	M	Ke621
Flinterupgård		Store-Fuglede	Ars			1	1	1								bronze tubes	mega	II	F	Ke623
Store-Fuglede		Store-Fuglede	Ars									1		1 gold decoration			barrow	II	M	Ke625

name	grave nr	parish	district	sword	dagger	neck collar	belt plate	arm-ring	finger-ring	fibula	tutulus	double button	axes	razor	knife	other	burial form	period	sex + possible child	source
Svallerup	B	Svallerup	Ars	1	1	1	1				1						mega	II	F	Ke626B
Svallerup	D	Svallerup	Ars		1		3	1	4							5 bronze tubes, spiral tubes, spiral-ring	barrow	II	F	Ke626D
Tømmerup	B	Tømmerup	Ars				2									textile frag	barrow	II	?	Ke630B
Ubby		Ubby	Ars	1												bronze fragment socketed hammer	barrow	II	M	Ke643
Ubby		Ubby	Ars		1		2									comb, 2 small discs	barrow	II	F	Ke644
Ubby	A1	Ubby	Ars													tweezers, leather covering, textile frag	barrow	II	C?	Ke645A1
Ubby	A9	Ubby	Ars	1										1		pommel	barrow	II	M	Ke645A9
Asnaes	A	Årby	Ars		1											pommel	barrow	II	?	Ke649A
Bastrup Sønderstrand		Årby	Ars	1													barrow	II/III	M	Ke654
Kalundborg	B	Kalundborg	Ars	1	1			1									barrow	III	M	Ke602B
Kalundborg		Kalundborg	Ars	1													? Flat	III	M	Ke608
Uggerløse		Rørby	Ars	1													barrow	III	M	Ke619
Svallerup	A	Svallerup	Ars	1							1					pommel + bronze object	barrow	III	M	Ke626A
Tømmerup	C	Tømmerup	Ars													pommel, bronze fragment	barrow	III	?	Ke630C
Ubberup		Tømmerup	Ars						2	2							barrow	III	?	Ke633
Ubberup		Tømmerup	Ars	1	1			1	3							pommel	barrow	III	M	Ke634
Ubberup		Tømmerup	Ars	1							1	1				pommel	barrow	III	M	Ke636
Ubby	O	Ubby	Ars					2								textile frag	barrow	III	?	Ke645O
Asnaes	B	Årby	Ars								1	1					barrow	III	?	Ke649B
Asnaes Forskov		Årby	Ars	1	1			1					1				barrow	III	M	Ke650
Ubby		Ubby	Ars						1								barrow	III?	?	Ke642
Ubby		Ubby	Ars														barrow	III?	?	Ke646
Ubby	B	Ubby	Ars													ring	stone cist in barrow	LN/MBA	?	Ke645B
Kjærby		Rørby	Ars													object	stone cist in barrow	MBA	?	Ke616

Appendix 6

name	grave nr	parish	district	sword	dagger	neck collar	belt plate	arm-ring	finger-ring	fibula	tutulus	double button	axes	razor	knife	other	burial form	period	sex + possible child	source
Uggerløse		Rørby	Ars	1													barrow	MBA	M	Ke620
Uggerløse		Rørby	Ars	1													barrow	MBA	M	Ke622
Kåstrup		Tømmerup	Ars	1													barrow	MBA	M	Ke629
Tømmerup	D-F	Tømmerup	Ars				1								3 rings		barrow	MBA	?	Ke630D-F
Tømmerup		Tømmerup	Ars	1													barrow	MBA	M	Ke631
Frankerup		Ubby	Ars													? textile frag	barrow	MBA	?	Ke639
Kelleklinte		Ubby	Ars	1													barrow	MBA	?	Ke640
Ubby	A4	Ubby	Ars														barrow	MBA	?	Ke645A4
Ubby	A5	Ubby	Ars														barrow	MBA	C?	Ke645A5
Ubby	A6	Ubby	Ars												awl		cranium	MBA	?	Ke645A6
Ubby	A7	Ubby	Ars														cranium	MBA	C?	Ke645A7
Ubby	A8	Ubby	Ars														barrow	MBA	?	Ke645A8
Ubby	C	Ubby	Ars						1								barrow	MBA	?	Ke645C
Ubby	D	Ubby	Ars														barrow	MBA	?+C	Ke645D
Ubby		Ubby	Ars												spearhead		barrow	MBA	M	Ke647
Asnaes Vesterskov		Årby	Ars														barrow	MBA	?	Ke648
Bastrup	A	Årby	Ars														barrow	MBA	?	Ke651A
Bastrup	B	Årby	Ars														barrow	MBA	?	Ke651B
Bastrup		Årby	Ars						1								barrow	MBA	?	Ke652
Nyrup		Raklev	Ars														barrow	MBA?	?	Ke611
Raklev		Raklev	Ars	1													barrow	MBA?	?	Ke612
Raklev	1	Raklev	Ars	1													stone cist in barrow	MBA?	?	Ke613
Raklev	2	Raklev	Ars	1													stone cist in barrow	MBA?	?	Ke613

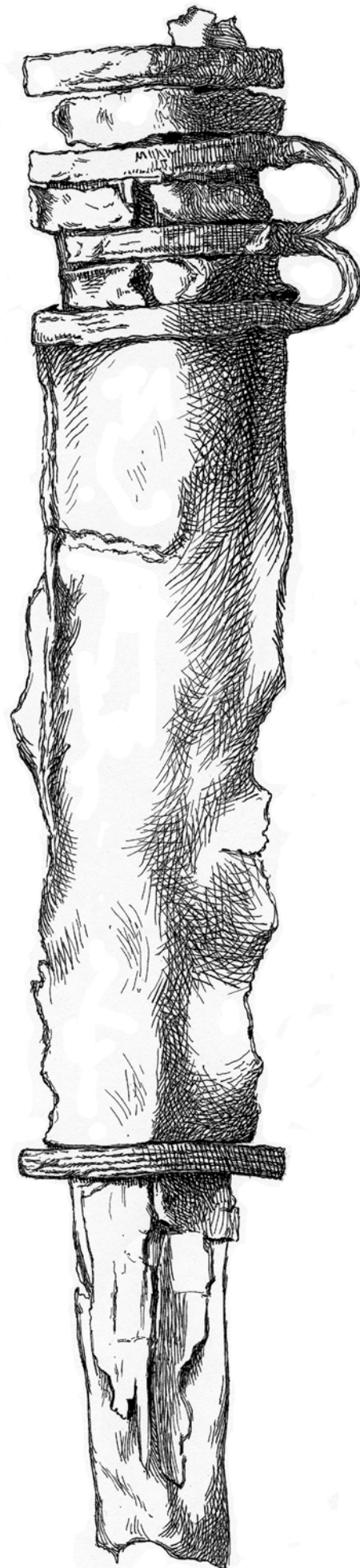


Figure 100: Part of a sword in its sheath from Nordenbro, Magleby parish, Svendborg County. Drawn by G.V. Blom February 1908. National Museum, Copenhagen. Scale unknown.

plats	grave nr	socken	härad	sword	dagger	neck collar/neck ring	belt plate	arm-ring	finger-ring	ankle-ring	fibula/nål	tutulus	amber
Enderupskov	B	Gram	Gram										
Abkjær	A	Vedsted	Gram								pin		
Over-Jerstal		Vedsted	Gram		1							1	
Sommersted		Sommersted	Gram										
Hennekesdam		Jels	Gram		1								
Lille-Nustrup		Nustrup	Gram		1			1					
Skrydstrup	F	Skrydstrup	Gram		1								
Billund	B	Vojens	Gram		1								
Klovtoft	C	Jels	Gram		1						pin		
Ørsted	A	Oksenvad	Gram		1						fibula		
Arnitlund	A	Vedsted	Gram		1								
Billund		Vojens	Gram		1								
Vojensgård	H	Vojens	Gram		1			1 gold			fibula		
Hennekesdam		Jels	Gram									3	
Jels	A	Jels	Gram										
Jels		Jels	Gram										
Lille-Nustrup	B	Nustrup	Gram										
Lundsbæk	A	Nustrup	Gram									1	
Skrydstrup	D	Skrydstrup	Gram		2?								
Sommersted		Sommersted	Gram								fibula		
Arnitlund	C	Vedsted	Gram								fibula		
Arnitlund	D	Vedsted	Gram		1								
Jels		Jels	Gram		1	ring	1	1			fibula	1	
Lilholt	B	Skrydstrup	Gram		1		1						
Skrydstrup	E	Skrydstrup	Gram		1			2					
Skrydstrup	A	Skrydstrup	Gram		1	collar	1	2	2	1	fibula		
Jelsbjerg	B	Jels	Gram			collar		1					1 bead
Lilholt	B	Skrydstrup	Gram				1						
Skrydstrup	D	Skrydstrup	Gram			ring	1	2?			fibula	1	6 beads
Skrydstrup		Skrydstrup	Gram		1								1 bead
Vojensgård		Vojens	Gram		1						fibula	1	
Endrupskov		Gram	Gram		1								
Endrupskov		Gram	Gram										
Jernhyt		Hammelev	Gram										
Jels		Jels	Gram		1						fibula		
Jels		Jels	Gram		1								

	axes	glass beads	razor	knife	double button	other	grave form	period	sex + possible child	source
							barrow	?	?	Ke3404B
						flint dagger	barrow	I	M	Ke3551A
						flint strike-a-light	barrow	I	M	Ke3571
1							barrow	I	M	Ke35451B
						chape	barrow	II	?	Ke3444
						chape	barrow	II	?	Ke3485
							barrow	II	?	Ke3530F
							barrow	II	?	Ke3590B
						2 Lockenringen, awl	mega	II	?	Ke3459C
						pommel, vessel	barrow	II	?	Ke3506A
						textile frag	barrow	II	?	Ke3563A
							barrow	II	?	Ke3592
							barrow	II	?	Ke3602H
						26 bronze nails probably from a wooden object, horn comb, leather, textile frag, oak log coffin	barrow	II	?	Ke3443
						spearhead	barrow	II	M	Ke3446A
						chape	barrow	II	?	Ke3457
						belt hook	barrow	II	?	Ke3488B
						vessel	barrow	II	?	Ke3491A
1							barrow	II	M	Ke3530D
							grave?	II	?	Ke3550
							barrow	II	?	Ke3559C
						pommel	barrow	II	M	Ke3559D
						chape	barrow	II	F	Ke3454
						2 gold spiral-rings	barrow	II	F	Ke3515B
						pommel, chape	barrow	II	F	Ke3521E
						wooden bowl with tin nails, 2 gold spiral-rings, spiral tubes	barrow	II	F	Ke3530A
							barrow	II	F	Ke3452B
							barrow	II	F	Ke3516B
	1					2 Lockenringen, 2 spiral tubes	barrow	II	F	Ke3521D
							barrow	II	M	Ke3529A
						2 gold spiral-rings, flint stike-a-light, pyrite	barrow	II	M	Ke3601
1							barrow	II	M	Ke3405
			1	1			barrow	II	M	Ke3406
1						spearhead	barrow	II	M	Ke3425
						2 bronze nails	barrow	II	M	Ke3447
1						belt hook	barrow	II	M	Ke3450

[illegible]

	axes	glass beads	razor	knife	double button	other	grave form	period	sex + possible child	source
	1						barrow	II	M	Ke3451
							barrow	II	M	Ke3461
							barrow	II	M	Ke3480
	1						barrow	II	M	Ke3484
						pommel	barrow	II	M	Ke3491B
							barrow	II	M	Ke3497
						pommel	barrow	II	M	Ke3500A
							barrow	II	M	Ke3502
	1						barrow	II	M	Ke3505A
							barrow	II	M	Ke3526
							barrow	II	M	Ke3527B
							barrow	II	M	Ke3527C
	1						barrow	II	M	Ke3548
							barrow	II	M	Ke3554
			1	1	1		barrow	II	M	Ke3558A
							barrow	II	M	Ke3560
							barrow	II	M	Ke3565
							barrow	II	M	Ke3566
							barrow	II	M	Ke3574
						pommel	barrow	II	M	Ke3575B
	1						barrow	II	M	Ke3581
	1						barrow	II	M	Ke3583B
							barrow	II	M	Ke3605
						pommel	grave?	II	M	Ke3404D
						2 pommels	mixed in barrow	II & III	M	Ke3538
						1 chape	barrow	II/III	M	Ke3572
							barrow	II?	?	Ke3539B
						pommel	barrow	III	?	Ke3423
						gold spiral-ring	barrow	III	?	Ke3431
						pommel, 2 gold Lockenringen	barrow	III	?	Ke3557B
						chape	cre/flat	III	?	Ke3523
						pommel	barrow	III	?	Ke3513E
						pommel	barrow	III	?	Ke3585A
							barrow	III	?	Ke3413
						chape, socketed tool	flat	III	?	Ke3414
						1	barrow	III	?	Ke3416
						1 1	barrow	III	?	Ke3420
						1	barrow	III	M	Ke3428
						1 gold spiral-ring	barrow	III	?	Ke3437
							barrow	III	?	Ke3442
							barrow	III	M	Ke3462
							barrow	III	?	Ke3470
						chape	barrow	III	?	Ke3498
						1	barrow	III	?	Ke3499

axes	glass beads	razor	knife	double button	other	grave form	period	sex + possible child	source
				1	arrowhead	mega	III	?	Ke3501
						barrow	III	M	Ke3513C
						barrow	III	?	Ke3537
1						barrow	III	?	Ke3540A
						grave?	III	?	Ke3542
				1		barrow	III	?	Ke3552
						barrow	III	?	Ke3553
						flat	III	?	Ke3556A
						flat	III	?	Ke3556B
						flat	mba	?	Ke3556C
				1		barrow	III	?	Ke3559E
				1	vessel	barrow	III	?	Ke3563B
				1	awl, tweezer	barrow	III	?	Ke3578
				1		barrow	III	?	Ke3586C
				1		barrow	III	?	Ke3587D
						barrow	III	?	Ke3598
						barrow	III	?	Ke3600
				1		barrow	III	?	Ke3604A
						?	III	F	Ke3427
						barrow	III	F	Ke3474
				1	awl, gold ring	barrow	III	F	Ke3511D
					2 gold ear-rings, horn comb, textiles	barrow	III	F	Ke3527A
						barrow	III	F	Ke3561
						barrow	III	M	Ke3404A
				1		barrow	III	M	Ke3473
						barrow	III	M	Ke3407
				1	2 tweezer	barrow	III	M	Ke3415
						barrow	III	M	Ke3419
				2	1 2 chape, 2 flint strike-a-lights, tweezer	barrow	III	M	Ke3421IF
				1		barrow	III	M	Ke3439
						barrow	III	M	Ke3442I
				1	1 1	barrow	III	M	Ke3466
				1	tweezer	barrow	III	M	Ke3469A
						barrow	III	M	Ke3472
					awl, tweezer	barrow	III	M	Ke3476
				1	frag, 37 spiral tubes, vessel, bronze nails, organic remains	barrow	III	M	Ke3487
					awl	barrow	III	M	Ke3489
				1		barrow	III	M	Ke3492
						barrow	III	M	Ke3493A
				1	urn, tweezer	barrow	III	M	Ke3494
						barrow	III	M	Ke3500B
					2 gold spiral-rings, pommel	barrow	III	M	Ke3507

plats	grave nr	socken	härad	sword	dagger	neck collar/ neck ring	belt plate	arm-ring	finger-ring	ankle-ring	fibula/nål	tutulus	amber
Ørsted		Oksenvad	Gram	1									
Ørsted		Oksenvad	Gram	1									
Lilholt	B	Skrydstrup	Gram	1									
Lilholt	A	Skrydstrup	Gram	1									
Lilholt	C	Skrydstrup	Gram	1									
Lilholt		Skrydstrup	Gram	1									
Skrydstrup		Skrydstrup	Gram										
Skrydstrup		Skrydstrup	Gram								fibula		
Skrydstrup		Skrydstrup	Gram										
Uldal	A	Skrydstrup	Gram	1							fibula		
Uldal	B	Skrydstrup	Gram	1									
Abkjær	B	Vedsted	Gram	1					1 gold				
Lille-Vedbøl		Vedsted	Gram	1				1 gold			fibula		
Over-Jerstal	A	Vedsted	Gram	1				1			fibula		
Over-Jerstal	B	Vedsted	Gram										
Over-Jerstal		Vedsted	Gram										
Skovbylund	C	Vedsted	Gram	1									
Vojensgård	B	Vojens	Gram	1									
Vojensgård	B	Vojens	Gram	1							fibula		
Jernhyt	D	Hammelev	Gram										
Skrydstrup		Skrydstrup	Gram										
Brøndlund	B	Nustrup	Gram					1			fibula		
Jernhyt	C	Hammelev	Gram		1								
Jegerup Frihed		Jegerup	Gram		1			1					
Jels		Jels	Gram		1								
Bæk		Nustrup	Gram		1								
Nustrup		Nustrup	Gram		1								
Lilholt		Skrydstrup	Gram		1								
Skrydstrup	B	Skrydstrup	Gram		1								
Neder-Lert		Sommersted	Gram		1								
Vedsted	A	Vedsted	Gram		1								
Marbæk		Gram	Gram								fibula		
Jernhyt	A	Hammelev	Gram										
Jernhyt	B	Hammelev	Gram										
Jernhyt	C	Hammelev	Gram										
Jernhyt	B	Hammelev	Gram										
Jernhyt		Hammelev	Gram					1					
Styding		Hammelev	Gram	1									
Jegerup		Jegerup	Gram					1					
Jegerup		Jegerup	Gram								pin		
Jels	B	Jels	Gram					1					
Jels		Jels	Gram					1 gold					

axes	glass beads	razor	knife	double button	other	grave form	period	sex + possible child	source
						flat	III	M	Ke3508
						flat?	III	M	Ke3510
						barrow	III	M	Ke3514B
					pommel	barrow	III	M	Ke3515A
						barrow	III	M	Ke3515C
						barrow	III	M	Ke3518
		1				barrow	III	M	Ke3524
			2		gold spiral-ring, tweezer	barrow	III	M	Ke3525C
					pommel, chape	barrow	III	M	Ke3535
						barrow	III	M	Ke3539A
				1	pommel	barrow	III	M	Ke3540B
			1		sherd	barrow	III	M	Ke3551B
		1			pommel, tweezer	barrow	III	M	Ke3569
				1	pommel, chape, vessel	barrow	III	M	Ke3570A
		1			urn	barrow	III	M	Ke3570B
		1			tweezer	barrow	III	M	Ke3579
						barrow	III	M	Ke3580C
				1	pyrite, flint strike-a-light	barrow	III	M	Ke3599B
						barrow	III	M	Ke3604B
						barrow	III?	?	Ke3421D
					urn	barrow	III?	?	Ke3534
					urn	barrow	III	?	Ke3469B
						barrow	mba	?	Ke3421C
						barrow	mba	?	Ke3440
					2 gold spiral-rings, pommel	barrow	mba	?	Ke3453
						barrow	mba	?	Ke3475
						barrow	mba	?	Ke3495
						barrow	mba	?	Ke3512
					spiral-ring	barrow	mba	?	Ke3530B
						barrow	mba	?	Ke3543
						barrow	mba	?	Ke3583A
						grave?	mba	?	Ke3412
					bronze fragment, organic remains	barrow	mba	?	Ke3421A
						barrow	mba	?	Ke3421IB
						barrow	mba	?	Ke3421IC
					pyrite	barrow	mba	?	Ke3422B
					vessel	barrow	mba	?	Ke3426
						grave?	mba	M	Ke3429
						barrow	mba	?	Ke3434
					spearhead	barrow	mba	M	Ke3436
					ring	barrow	mba	?	Ke3446B
						barrow	mba	?	Ke3448

[illegible]

axes	glass beads	razor	knife	double button	other	grave form	period	sex + possible child	source
					vessel	barrow	mba	?	Ke3491C
					resin, flint dagger type VI	barrow	mba	?	Ke3504D
					vessel	barrow	mba	?	Ke3505D
					flint dagger VI, vessel	barrow	mba	?	Ke3525A
					flint strike-a-light	barrow	mba	?	Ke3530C
						barrow	mba	?	Ke3538I
			1			barrow	mba	?	Ke3548I
					flint sickle, nails from a sword	barrow	mba	?	Ke3549
						grave?	mba	M	Ke3549I
			1			grave?	mba	?	Ke3549II
					spearhead	barrow	mba	M	Ke3564
					flint dagger	barrow	mba	?	Ke3595
					bronze fragments	barrow	mba	?	Ke3597
					flint dagger	barrow	mba	?	Ke3602A
					arrowhead, sherd	barrow	mba	?	Ke3602E
					arrowhead	barrow	mba	?	Ke3602E
						barrow	mba	?	Ke3602E
						barrow	mba	M	Ke3410
						barrow	mba	M	Ke3411
					flint strike-a-light, pyrite	barrow	mba	M	Ke3421B
					flint strike-a-light	barrow	mba	M	Ke3438B
						barrow	mba	M	Ke3441
						barrow	mba	M	Ke3493B
						barrow	mba	M	Ke3536
						barrow	mba	M	Ke3541I
					3 gold spiral-rings	barrow	mba?	?	Ke3467
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3513D
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3602C
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3424A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3424B
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3424C
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3424D
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3432A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3432B
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3432C
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3433
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3435C
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3445
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3446C
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3446D
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3446E
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3455
					spearhead	barrow	mba?	?	Ke4358
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3460

[illegible]

axes	glass beads	razor	knife	double button	other	grave form	period	sex + possible child	source
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3463
					oak log coffin, organic remains	?	mba?	?	Ke3464A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3465A
					bronze object	barrow	mba?	?	Ke3477
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3478B
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3478C
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3482A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3482B
					flint strike-a-light	barrow	mba?	?	Ke3490A
					bronze fragment	barrow	mba?	?	Ke3504A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3504B
					vessel	barrow	mba?	?	Ke3504C
					oak log coffin (lost)	barrow	mba?	?	Ke3509
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3511A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3513A
					vessel	barrow	mba?	?	Ke3513B
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3514A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3514C
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3519A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3519B
					spearhead	barrow	mba?	M	Ke3520
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3521A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3521B
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3521C
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3522
					vessel	barrow	mba?	?	Ke3528
					arrowhead	barrow	mba?	?	Ke3531A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3531B
						flat	mba?	?	Ke3533
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3544
1						barrow	mba?	M	Ke3545B
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3546A
						barrow	mba?	M	Ke3551C
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3555
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3557D
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3558B
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3559B
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3562
					bronze object	barrow	mba?	?	Ke3573
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3580A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3580B
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3583C
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3583D
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3584
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3588A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3589
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3590A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3591

axes	glass beads	razor	knife	double button	other	grave form	period	sex + possible child	source
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3593B
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3594
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3596A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3596B
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3596C
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3599A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3602D
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3602F
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3602G
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3603A
						barrow	mba?	?	Ke3603B
						flat	mba?	?	Ke3606
						barrow	mba?	C	Ke3559A
						barrow	mba?	M	Ke3449
						barrow	mba?	M	Ke3468
						barrow	mba?	M	Ke3481
						barrow	mba?	M	Ke3486
					gold remains on the handle of the sword	barrow	mba?	M	Ke3547

Appendix 8:

Female graves with daggers

Unless otherwise stated, all objects are made of bronze, except for the ceramic vessels, which are only noted as 'vessels'. The numbers in the columns stand for the total number of objects of the type in the column head.

'Unclear association' in the column labelled 'burial form' = all the objects were found in one barrow and it is unclear if they come from one burial or more.

Sources

160410 sb 60 = information from Det Kulturhistoriske Centralregister, www.dkconline.dk [20060208].

Bender Jørgensen et al 1984 = Bender Jørgensen, Lise, Munksgaard, Elisabeth & Stærmose Nielsen, Karen-Hanne. 1984. Melhøj-fundet. En hidtil upåaet parallel til Skydstrup-fundet. Aarbøger 1982:19-57.

DBI:xx = catalogue nr in Broholm, Hans Christian. 1943. Danmarks Bronzealder volume I. Nyt Nordisk Forlag, Arnold Busck, Copenhagen.

Ehlers SHx = catalogue nr in Ehlers, Solveig K. 1998. Bronzezeitliche Textilenaus Schleswig-Holstein. Eine Technische Analyse und Funktionsbestimmung. Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorsgrad der Philosophischen Fakultät der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel.

Håxx = catalogue nr in Håkansson, Inger. 1985. Skånes gravfynd från äldre bronsålder som källa till studiet av social struktur. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia Series in 8°. Nr 14, Lund.

Jensen 1986 = Jensen, Knud B. 1986. Excavation report Nationalmuseet, Danske Afd., Danmarks Oldtid (Beretningsarkiv). Journalnr: RAS P 989/86. National Museum Copenhagen.

Kexx = number in the Anér and Kersten volumes. Anér, Ekkehard & Kersten, Karl. Die Funde der älteren Bronzezeit des nordischen Kreises in Dänemark, Schleswig-Holstein und Niedersachsen. Volume 1-11 & 17-19. Karl Wachholz Verlag, Neumünster.

OLxx = catalogue nr in Oldeberg, Andreas. 1974 + 1976. Die ältere Metallzeit in Schweden I and II. Stockholm.

Randsborg 1993:71 = Randsborg, Klavs. 1993. Kivik Archaeology and Iconography. Acta Archaeologica 64(1).

name	parish	district	county	country
Hohenlockstedt			Steinburg	Germany
Grimstrup	Ølsted	Strø	Frederiksborg	Denmark
Præstegårdsmark	Melby	Strø	Frederiksborg	Denmark
Jels	Jels	Gram	Haderslev	Denmark
Lilholt	Skrydstrup	Gram	Haderslev	Denmark
Skrydstrup	Skrydstrup	Gram	Haderslev	Denmark
Sønder-Vilstrup	Vilstrup	Haderslev	Haderslev	Denmark
Svallerup	Svallerup	Ars	Holbæk	Denmark
Ordrup	Fårevejle	Ods	Holbæk	Denmark
Hønsinge	Vig	Ods	Holbæk	Denmark
Audebo	Hagsted	Tuse	Holbæk	Denmark
Løserup	Udby	Tuse	Holbæk	Denmark
Ølby	Højelse	Ramsø	København	Denmark
Brøndbyvester	Brøndbyvester	Smørum	København	Denmark
Bagsværd	Gladsaxe	Sokkelund	København	Denmark
Ryegård	Rye	Volborg	København	Denmark
Maglebrænde	Maglebrænde	Falster Nørre	Maribo	Denmark
Ravnsby	Birket	Lollands Nørre	Maribo	Denmark
Martofte	Stubberup	Bjerge	Odense	Denmark
Stærup	Dreslette	Båg	Odense	Denmark
Anderup	Lumby	Lunde	Odense	Denmark
Kratholmgård	Fangel	Odense	Odense	Denmark
Odense	Odense	Odense	Odense	Denmark
Fjelsted	Fjelsted	Vends	Odense	Denmark
Vindblæs	Vindblæs	Gjerlev	Randers	Denmark
Torup	Auning	Sønderhald	Randers	Denmark
Tobøl	Føvling	Malt	Ribe	Denmark
Nørre-Vium	Nørre-Vium	Bølling	Ringkøbing	Denmark
Kisum	Estvad	Ginding	Ringkøbing	Denmark
Tjørring	Tjørring	Hammerum	Ringkøbing	Denmark
Muldbjerg	Hover	Hind	Ringkøbing	Denmark
Øster-Herup	Dybe	Vandfuld	Ringkøbing	Denmark
Katrinelund	Vindinge	Tyrsting	Skanderborg	Denmark

dagger	neck/collar ring	belt plate	arm-ring	finger ring	ankle ring	fibula/pin	tutulus	amber beads	glass beads	other	burial form	period	source
1		2				rollheaded pin		12		2 Lockenringen, awl, ceramic vessel	barrow	I	Ke9393A
1		1									barrow	II	Ke259
1	collar	1					2	2	1	bronze tubes	barrow	II	Ke 243I
1	ring	1	1?			fibula	1			chape	barrow	II	Ke3454
1		1								2 gold rings	barrow	II	Ke3515B
1	collar	1	2	2	1	fibula				2 gold rings, frag wood-en bowl, spiral tubes	barrow	II	Ke3530A
1			4	1		fibula					barrow	II	Ke3666B
1	collar	1					1				barrow	II	Ke626B
1		1						3	3	1 bead, spiral tubes	barrow	II	Ke793F
1		1	1				1				barrow	II	Ke896B
1		1	1							sword	unclear as-sociation	II	Ke1023A
1	collar	1	1	1		fibula	3				barrow	II	Ke1077
part of sword blade	collar	1					4	2	1	c. 125 bronze tubes, 1 bronze spiral	barrow	II	Ke299
?1			1							pommel	barrow	II	Ke314
1	collar	1									barrow	II	Ke377
1		1									barrow	II	Ke 597B
1	collar	1	1					1		2 gold spiral rings, pommel	barrow	II	Ke1582B
1		1								tubes, awl	barrow	II	Ke1655A
1	collar			1							barrow	II	Ke1730
1	collar	1	2	1		fibula	4			sword, textile fragments	unclear as-sociation	II	Ke1744C
1		1									barrow	II	Ke1799B
1		1	1	4		fibula				vessel	barrow	II	Ke1846B
1		1								sword	unclear as-sociation	II	Ke1856
1		1									barrow	II	Ke1917
1	collar	1				fibula					barrow	II	DBI:759
1		1									?	II	DBI:786
2	?ring					pin	7	8		wheel, jet bead, gold ring, pommel, vessel	barrow	II	Ke3919B
1		1	1							ring	barrow	II	Ke4610
1								2	1	2 gold rings, frag spiral, 2 vessels	barrow	II	Ke4641
1	ring						1			awl, vessel	barrow	II	Ke4723
1		1									barrow	II	Ke4640C
1			1					2		3 gold rings, chape	barrow	II	Ke4925A
1				1		wheel-headed pin				bronze ring, vessel	barrow	II	160410 sb 60, Jensen 1986

name	parish	district	county	country
Legaardlyst	Skanderup	Hjemslev	Skanderborg	Denmark
Kirke-Stillinge	Kirke-Stillinge	Slagelse	Sorø	Denmark
Tårnholm	Tårnborg	Slagelse	Sorø	Denmark
Hesselagergård	Hesselager	Gudme	Svendborg	Denmark
Hesselager	Hesselager	Gudme	Svendborg	Denmark
Sanddård	Grurup	Hassing	Thisted	Denmark
Skyum	Skyum	Hassing	Thisted	Denmark
Sønderhå	Sønderhå	Hassing	Thisted	Denmark
Lækjær	Nors	Hillerslev	Thisted	Denmark
Bjergby	Bjergby	Morsø Nørre	Thisted	Denmark
Lørslev	Lørslev	Morsø Sønder	Thisted	Denmark
Langvad	Tømmerby	Vester-Han	Thisted	Denmark
Gadbjerg	Gadbjerg	Tørrild	Vejle	Denmark
Hald	Ørslevkloster	Fjends	Viborg	Denmark
Roe	Grønbæk	Lysgaard	Viborg	Denmark
Hverrehus	Ulbjerg	Rinds	Viborg	Denmark
Hverrehus	Ulbjerg	Rinds	Viborg	Denmark
Lerchenfeldt Mark	Vesterbølle	Rinds	Viborg	Denmark
Lihme	Lihme	Røddinge	Viborg	Denmark
Bustrup	Ramsing	Røddinge	Viborg	Denmark
Frøslev	Bov	Lundtofte	Åbenrå	Denmark
Hjordkjær	Hjordkjær	Rise	Åbenrå	Denmark
Vestrup	Vognsild	Gislum	Ålborg	Denmark
Borum Eshøj	Borum	Framlev	Århus	Denmark
Albertsdorf	Albertsdorf		Dithmarschen	Germany
Glüsing	Glüsing		Dithmarschen	Germany
Hademarschen	Hanerau-Hademarschen		Rendsburg-Eckernförde	Germany
Nebel	Nebel	Amrum	Schleswig	Germany
Kluesries	Harrislee	Schleswig-Flensburg	Schleswig	Germany
Tinum	Tinum	Sylt	Schleswig	Germany
Bröthen		Herz Lauenberg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany

dagger	neck/collar ring	belt plate	arm-ring	finger ring	ankle ring	fibula/pin	tutulus	amber beads	glass beads	other	burial form	period	source
1		1				pin	3			2 rings	barrow	II	DBI:824
1	collar	1		2		fibula				pommel	barrow	II	Ke1135A
1	collar	1	2	1			2			3 bronze tubes, pommel	barrow	II	Ke1163A
1	collar	1	2	4		fibula	5			2 Lockenringen, spiral tubes	barrow	II	Ke2011B
1	collar						1			1 bead	barrow	II	Ke2017
1		1									barrow	II	Ke4955C
1		1	1	gold		fibula				chape	barrow	II	Ke4993B
1		1								pommel	barrow	II	Ke5039A
1		1					1			pommel, chape	barrow	II	Ke5085
1		1	3	1							barrow	II	Ke5268B
1		1									barrow	II	Ke5372
1		1	2			fibula	2			pommel, textile frag- ments	barrow	II	Ke5542
1		1									barrow	II	Ke4517A
1		1	1				1				barrow	II	DBI:661
1		1	1							comb, chape	barrow	II	DBI:699
1	collar	1	4				14			comb, 50-60 bronze tubes	barrow	II	DBI:728
part of sword blade		1	1			fibula					barrow	II	DBI:730
1	ring		1			fibula	3			2 vessels	barrow	II	DBI:732
1		1					1			pommel	barrow	II	DBI:739
1	ring	1								4 animal teeth beads, bronze tubes, chape, 2 vessels, textile frag	barrow	II	DBI:741
1						fibula	2	25		2 gold rings, pommel, chape	barrow	II	Ke2962B
1	ring		1			fibula		1		bronze sheath frag- ments, vessel	barrow	II	Ke3017C
1		1	2							textile fragments	barrow	II	DBI:622
1	ring	1	2	3		fibula	3			pommel, horn comb, vessel, textiles	barrow	II	DBI:791
1	collar					wheel-headed pin	1	3		'diadem'	barrow	II	Ke9005B
1		1									barrow	II	Ke9120A
1		1				wheel-headed pin					barrow	II	Ke9641
1		1								small amber piece, 3 flint, strike-a-lights	barrow	II	Ke2592C
1		1	1							textile fragments	barrow	II	Ke2246D
1		1									barrow	II	Ke2744B
1		1	2		1					textile fragments	barrow	II	Ehlers 1998 SH:8

name	parish	district	county	country
Kohlenbek	Bokelrehm		Steinburg	Germany
Drage			Steinburg	Germany
Vaale			Steinburg	Germany
Rishammer 3	Kareby		Bohuslän	Sweden
Torslund	Tierp		Uppland	Sweden
Jægersborg	Gentofte	Sokkelund	København	Denmark
Drøsselbjerg	Drøsselbjerg	Løve	Holbæk	Denmark
Ørum	Ørum	Hassing	Thisted	Denmark
Rege	Håland	Jæren		Norway
Varming	Seem	Ribe	Ribe	Denmark
Birksbøl	Nørre Skast	Skast	Ribe	Denmark
Tjæreborg	Tjæreborg	Skast	Ribe	Denmark
Voldsgård	Studsgård-Havnstrup	Hammerum	Ringkøbing	Denmark
Hesselbjerg	Humble	Langelands Sønder	Svendborg	Denmark
Gammelby	Grurup	Hassing	Thisted	Denmark
Spejlsgårde	Hvidbjerg	Hassing	Thisted	Denmark
Nørhågård	Norhå	Hundborg	Thisted	Denmark
Vorupørvej 16	Tilsted	Hundborg	Thisted	Denmark
Ure	Brande	Nørvang	Vejle	Denmark
Tørrild	Nørup	Tørrild	Vejle	Denmark
Melhøj	Mallerup		Ålborg	Denmark
Harrislee	Harrislee	Schleswig-Flensburg	Schleswig	Germany
Åkarp Villans værdsshus	Burlövs sn		Skåne	Sweden
Hammarlöv 19	Hammarlöv		Skåne	Sweden
V. Vemmerlöv nr 23	Västra Vemmerlöv		Skåne	Sweden
Puggegård	Hasle	B Nørre	Bornholm	Denmark
Stenhøjgård	Søborg	Holbo	Frederiksborg	Denmark

dagger	neck/collar ring	belt plate	arm-ring	finger ring	ankle ring	fibula/pin	wheel-headed pin, fibula	tutulus	amber beads	glass beads	other	burial form	period	source
1							wheel-headed pin, fibula					barrow	II	Ke9357
1	collar		2		1	fibula		2	1		2 rings, 'diadem' (missing)	barrow	II	Ke9363A
1		2	5	1	1	fibula					textile fragments	barrow	II	Ke9504
1		1	2					1				barrow	II	Ol2582
1	collar							2			6 pendants, double button	cairn	II	Ol2839
1		1	2	1							pommel	barrow	II	Ke371
1	ring		2			fibula					pommel, frag spiral ring	barrow	II/III	Ke660
1		1	gold						1?			barrow	II/III	Ke5065A
1		1	2			fibula		1			bronze tube, spiral tube	barrow	II/III	Randsborg 1993:71
1	ring					fibula					2 gold rings, gold on the pommel and fibula	barrow	III	Ke4032F
1					1						pommel	barrow	III	Ke4079A
1	ring					fibula		1		5	pommel, chape, vessel	barrow	III	Ke4102
1											belt box, spiral tubes, textile frag	barrow	III	Ke4722
1			1	1	1							?barrow	III	Ke2054
1	ring		2			pin					2 gold rings	barrow	III	Ke4952
1	ring		1	2	gold						pommel, chape	barrow	III	Ke4974
1	ring		2	1				1			knife, pommel	barrow	III	Ke5178
1			3			pin		1		11	pommel, belt box, spiral tubes, bronze sickle, gold ring, double button, vessel	barrow	III	Ke5231B
1	ring		1			fibula					chape	barrow	III	Ke4416
1	probable		1			pin					chape	barrow	III	Ke4569
1	ring	1	2		1	pin, fibula		1			2 gold ear-rings, chape, textile fragments	barrow	III	Bender Jørgensen et al 1984
1				2	gold	fibula					remains hairnet	barrow	III	Ke2244A
1	collar										1 double button, 1 sword, bronze tubes	unclear association	III	Hå25
1	collar										2 gold rings, knife, awl	barrow	III	Hå46:3
?1	collar					2 fibulae		1			2 gold ear-rings, knife, c. 50 bronze tubes	barrow	III	Hå166:2
1				1?						2	pommel, tubes	barrow	MBA	Ke1440J
1		1				fibula					bronze thread	barrow	MBA	Ke86

Plats	grav nr	flint dagger	type/Lomborg	flint axe	flint arrowhead	scraper	chisel	flint flake	flint strike-a-light	slate pendant	amber bead	ring	ceramic	other	sex/age	sex/age	sex/age	sex/age	sex/age	C14
IngelstorpF238	1	II	1	1	1				1									male ad. or mat.		
IngelstorpF239					2	1	1						sherds					♂ mat.	♀ mat.	7-10
IngelstorpF241								1										♀ senior		
IngelstorpF243			1	1	1													c. 20		
IngelstorpF21944	1	II																		
IngelstorpF458				1										quartzite hammerstone						
IngelstorpF459	1	III	1	1	1															
IngelstorpF460						1								flint block	child?					
IngelstorpF461	1	II	1	1					1					point of a flint dagger						
IngelstorpF462	1	II																♀ adult	adult	teenager
Löderup 5								2												
Löderup 9			1					2										adult		
Löderup 23								1					bronze sheet		adolescent	♀	adult			
Löderup 29								1							c. 6					

Plats	grav nr	flint dagger	type/Lomborg	flint axe	flint arrowhead	scraper	chisel	flint flake	flint strike-a-light	slate pendant	amber bead	ring	ceramic sherds	other	sex/age	sex/age	sex/age	sex/age	sex/age	C14
Löderup	73					1		1							adult					
Löderup	74						11								adult	adolescent				
Löderup	75							1							adult					1780-1490 BC
Löderup	76					1							sherd		adolescent?					
Löderup	77					1		1												
Löderup	80					2														
Löderup	82			1											mature					
Löderup	83					1		1					sherd		adult					
Löderup	90		1												adolescent					
Löderup	91		1	1											child					
Löderup	92		2				15			1			sherd		human	cremated adult				
Löderup	93							1												2470-2130 BC
Löderup	100									4										
Löderup	107							1		1										
Löderup	109					1									child					
Löderup	37a														small child					
Löderup	37b							1					flint drill		c. 15					

[illegible]

other bronze	belt plate	other	sex/age	Håkansson's dating	C14
				II	
					1500-1190 BC
				II or III	1420-1110 BC
			14-18	III	
			8	II or III	
			♂ 30-40	III	
tutulus				II	
				II	
				II	
			♂ 20-25	III-IV	
			♂ 25-30	III	
probable hook			♀ 60-70	III?	
13 hooks, 8 frag hooks			♀ mature or senile, child 5-6	III	1540-1260 BC
					1610-1310 BC
				III	
				III	
				LN/MBA	
				LN/MBA	
			c. 20	III	
				III	
				LN/MBA	
		slate pendant, piece of amber		II	
				III	
			adult ♂	III	
	or frag neck collar		adult	II el III	
round disc		textile remains	♂ ? adult	III-IV	
			adult?	LN/MBA	
			adolescent		
		remains pig tooth	adult	LN/MBA	
		leather remains		MBA?	
			adult ♂, child	younger than grave 36c	
			child?	younger than grave 36c	
2 pins		dog tooth	human	II	

[illegible]

place	burial	Ceramic sherds	Ceramic	flint	bronze knife	bronze ring	awl	razor	tweezers	sword	double button	bronze sickle	bronze pin	fibula	bead	other	sex, age	other bones	C14
Ingelstorp 4	10	47															young?	sheep/goat	
Ingelstorp 4	12		vessel										1				♂ 20-25		
Ingelstorp 4	13	25															♂ young discretetraits		
Ingelstorp 4	15		vessel														♂ 20-25	lamb	
Ingelstorp 4	16	14															♂ 50-60		
Ingelstorp 4	17	7																	
Ingelstorp 4	18	7															adult?		1000-800 BC
Ingelstorp 4	20																♂ 20-30		
Ingelstorp 4	21		2 vessels														♂ 45-55?		
Ingelstorp 4	22		vessel														♀ ? 50-60		
Ingelstorp 4	23		vessel														♀ 20-30		
Ingelstorp 4	24	65															child		
Ingelstorp 4	25		vessel													button	♂ 40-50		
Ingelstorp 4	26	38															♂ 45-55		
Ingelstorp 4	30																		830-510 BC
Ingelstorp 4	35	1	vessel														child 4-5 (girl?)		
Ingelstorp 4	37	2															♂ probably old		
Ingelstorp 4	38							1							1		♂ ? 30-40 "inca bone"	sheep/goat	
Ingelstorp 4	40		2 vessels				1										♂ 25-30		
Ingelstorp 4	44	7															♀ 50-60		

place	burial	Ceramic sherds	Ceramic	flint	bronze knife	bronze ring	awl	razor	tweezers	sword	double button	bronze sickle	bronze pin	fibula	bead	other	sex, age	other bones	C14
Ingelstorp 4	46	4															infant		
Ingelstorp 4	50		vessel, lid		arm-ring												♂ 60 "inca bones"		
Ingelstorp 4	51	1															adult		
Ingelstorp 4	53	3															♀ 20-30 "inca bones"	sheep/goat	
Ingelstorp 4	54	1															child 2-4?		1000-790 BC
Ingelstorp 4	55			1 flake													♂	large dog	1150-750 BC
Ingelstorp 4	56	107															mature or senile		
Ingelstorp 4	57	1	vessel														young?		
Ingelstorp 4	67																♀ ? older?		
Ingelstorp 4	69		vessel		ring												♂ 25-30, infant/ neonate		
Ingelstorp 4	70		vessel														♀		
Ingelstorp 4	71	1															adult		
Ingelstorp 4	72		vessel														♀ mature	sheep/goat	
Ingelstorp 4	75				1												12-13		
Ingelstorp 4	76		vessel														human	bird	
Ingelstorp 4	77	14															♂ old		
Ingelstorp 4	78		3 miniature														quartzite hammer stone	?human	sheep/goat
Ingelstorp 4	82	126		blade													young or mature		
Ingelstorp 4	83																resin	young or mature	
Ingelstorp 4	84	36																adolescentor adult	

place	burial	ceramic sherds	ceramic	flint	bronze knife	bronze ring	awl	razor	tweezers	sword	double button	bronze sickle	bronze pin	fibula	bead	other	sex, age	other bones	C14
Ingelstorp 4	85	51	vessel	arrowhead										1			adult	adult	
Ingelstorp 4	86																adult	adult	
Ingelstorp 4	87	11															? adult	? adult	
Ingelstorp 4	66a		house urn								1						♂ 25-30	lamb	
Ingelstorp 4	66b		vessel									1					♀ 25-30		
Ingelstorp 4	66c		2 vessels														♂ 50-60		
Löderup 15	3		vessel				1										child, under 6	child, under 6	
Löderup 15	4										1						♂	sheep	
Löderup 15	6		vessel					1									human	sheep	
Löderup 15	7		vessel	strike-a-light													♂ adult	cattle	
Löderup 15	10									frag							♂ adult?		
Löderup 15	11	1															♂ ? adult	? adult	
Löderup 15	12		vessel														older ♂		
Löderup 15	13		2 vessels								1		1				? human		
Löderup 15	14		2 vessels		1												young ♂ ?		
Löderup 15	15		vessel														human		
Löderup 15	16		vessel														? child		
Löderup 15	17		vessel																
Löderup 15	18		2 vessels		neck-ring, frag												♂ adult		
Löderup 15	19		2 vessels														♂		
Löderup 15	20	1															bronze sheath	? child	
Löderup 15	21		vessel		ring												? child		
Löderup 15	24		2 vessels														button	young	
Löderup 15	25		vessel				1										human	sheep	
Löderup 15	26		vessel														child or adolescent		
Löderup 15	27							1									adult		

[illegible]

place	burial	ceramic sherds	ceramic	flint	bronze knife	bronze ring	awl	razor	tweezers	sword	double button	bronze sickle	bronze pin	fibula	bead	other	sex, age	other bones	C14
Löderup 15	88	1															adult		
Löderup 15	89	1															?human		
Löderup 15	94															bronze	mature		
Löderup 15	96			5 flakes													burnt hazelnut shell	?human	cattle sheep/goat
Löderup 15	97			sickle															cattle, pig
Löderup 15	98			2 flakes															sheep/goat, pig, ?
Löderup 15	99	3		2 flakes													?		
Löderup 15	101	3															adult		
Löderup 15	102	9															adult		
Löderup 15	104	2																	
Löderup 15	105	1		1 flake													? male		
Löderup 15	108	117															fire-cracked stone	?human	
Löderup 15	1(1971)		vessel, lid					1					1				male		sheep
Löderup 15	1(1957)	22	mould frag	2 flakes													adolescent		sheep
Löderup 15	II	123															adult		
Löderup 15	III	3																	
Löderup 15	IV	332			1	2											adolescent + ?		sheep
Löderup 15	IX	29															adult		
Löderup 15	V																♂ adult		
Löderup 15	VI	9																	
Löderup 15	VII																♂ adult		
Löderup 15	VIII	33	probably 2 vessels														child?		

↩

+O

Appendix 12

Comments on the Anthropological analysis of skeletal remains from Niedersachsen, Germany

Petra Molnar
Osteoarchaeological research laboratory
Stockholm University

773:76 Wardböhlen, Hengstberg
A lower jaw fragment, with probable male morphology (with some ambivalence).

Lower right second molar. Lacking masticatory facets and interproximal facets for the adjacent tooth. It is therefore likely that this tooth is from an individual younger than 15 years old. However, spaces between the teeth (diastema) could be a reason for the absence of an approximal facet. The lack of masticatory wear nonetheless suggests that the tooth was not yet in occlusion and supports the age estimation.

Measurements: Mesial-distal length 10.0 mm (possibly male)
Labial-buccal length 9.3 mm

1121:76 Bleckmar, Kahlberg
Lower right canine. Not in occlusion, which indicates an age of approximately 11-12 years old (does not fit with the long bones).

Anthropological analysis of skeletal remains
from Niedersachsen, Germany
Petra Molnar
Osteoarchaeological research laboratory
Stockholm University

Catalogue	Site name	Grave	Burial	Comments	Sex	Age
773:76	Wardböhlen, Hengstberg	5	II	Fragment of lower part of the mandible	male ?	
				Lower right second molar	male ?	< 15 years
1132:76	Wardböhlen, Hengstberg	5	V	Fragment of first rib, cervical vertebrae (and organic material)		
1133:76	Wardböhlen, Hengstberg	5	V	Fragment of radius and ulna (proximal part of diaphysis)		Adult
1122:76	Bleckmar, Kahlberg	3	I-III	Indeterminate (and organic material)		
				Fragment of cranial vault with open sutures		Young adult
				Fragment of femur		
				Upper right second molar		Young adult (~20 years)
1121:76	Bleckmar, Kahlberg	3	I-III	Two crown fragments of a molar with occlusal wear		
				Fragment of radius		Adult
				Fragment of rib		
476:76	Wardböhlen, Schafstallberg	1	II	Lower right canine		~11-12 years
478:76	Wardböhlen, Schafstallberg	1	II	Fragment of scapula, sternum, thoracic vertebrae, ribs, humerus		Adult
657:76	Wardböhlen, Schafstallberg	4	I	Fragment of radius diaphysis (1/3)		Adult
				Fragment of vertebrae (unfused secondary ossification centres)		< 17-25 years
659:76	Wardböhlen, Schafstallberg	4	I	Fragment of rib and possibly long bone		
660:76	Wardböhlen, Schafstallberg	4	I	Fragment of rib		
928:76	Bleckmar, Wittenberg	15		Fragment of long bone		
929:76	Bleckmar, Wittenberg	15		Fragment of coxa, part of the incisura ischiadica major	female	
930:76	Bleckmar, Wittenberg	15		Fragment of a long bone (femur, tibia or humerus)		
931:76	Bleckmar, Wittenberg	15		Fragment of radius and ulna (middle part of diaphysis)		
932:76	Bleckmar, Wittenberg	15		Four fragments of cranial vault with open sutures (incl. external occipital protuberance)	female	Young adult

Stockholm Studies in Archaeology

Editor: Anders Andrén

1. KYHLBERG, Ola. 1980. Vikt och värde. Arkeologiska studierivärde-mätning, betalningsmedel och metrologi. I. Helgö. II. Birka.
2. AMBROSIANI, Kristina. 1981. Viking Age Combs, Comb Making and Comb Makers, in the Light of the Finds from Birka and Ribe.
3. SÄRLVIK, Ingegärd. 1982. Paths Towards a Stratified Society. A Study of Economic, Cultural and Social Formations in South-West Sweden during the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period.
4. BLIDMO, Roger. 1982. Helgö, Husgrupp 3. En lokalkorologisk metodstudie. Helgöstudier 2.
5. CARLSSON, Anders. 1983. Djurhuvudformiga spännen och gotländsk vikingatid. Text och katalog.
6. DURING, Ebba. 1986. The Fauna of Alvastra. An Osteological Analysis of Animal Bones from a Neolithic Pile Dwelling.
7. BERTILSSON, Ulf. 1987. The Rock Carvings of Northern Bohuslän. Spatial Structures and Social Symbols.
8. CARLSSON, Anders. 1988. Vikingatida ringspännen från Gotland. Text och katalog.
9. BURSTRÖM, Mats. 1991. Arkeologisk samhällsavsgränsning. En studie av vikingatida samhällsterritorier i Smålands inland.
10. VARENIUS, Björn. 1992. Det nordiska skeppet. Teknologi och samhällsstrategi i vikingatid och medeltid.
11. JAKOBSSON, Mikael. 1992. Krigarideologi och vikingatida svärdstypologi.
12. RINGSTEDT, Nils. 1992. Household economy and archaeology. Some aspects on theory and applications.
13. Withdrawn.
14. JOHANSEN, Birgitta. 1997. Ormalur. Aspekter av tillvaro och landskap.
15. ZACHRISSON, Torun. 1998. Gård, gräns, gravfält. Sammanhang kring ädelmetalldepåer och runstenar från vikingatid och tidig medeltid i Uppland och Gästrikland.
16. CASSEL, Kerstin. 1998. Från grav till gård. Romersk järnålder på Gotland.
17. CARLSSON, Anders. 1998. Tolkande arkeologi och svensk forntidshistoria. Stenåldern.
18. GÖRANSSON, Eva-Marie. 1999. Bilder av kvinnor och kvinnlighet. Genus och kroppsspråk under övergången till kristendomen.
19. BOLIN, Hans. 1999. Kulturlandskapets korsvägar. Mellersta Norrland under de två sista årtusendena f. Kr.
20. STRASSBURG, Jimmy. 2000. Shamanic Shadows. One hundred Generations of Undead Subversion in Southern Scandinavia, 7,000-4,000 BC.
21. STORÅ, Jan. 2001. Reading Bones. Stone Age Hunters and Seals in the Baltic.
22. CARLSSON, Anders. 2001. Tolkande arkeologi och svensk forntidshistoria. Bronsåldern.
23. HAUPTMAN WAHLGREN, Katherine. 2002. Bilder av betydelse. Hällristningar och bronsålderslandskap i norra Östergötland.
24. ADAMS, Jonathan. 2003. Ships, Innovation and Social Change. Aspects of Carvel Shipbuilding In Northern Europe 1450 - 1850.
25. HED JAKOBSSON, Anna. 2003. Smältdegglars härskare och Jerusalemstillskyndare. Berättelser om vikingatid och tidig medeltid.
26. GILL, Alexander. 2003. Stenålder i Mälardalen.
27. WALL, Åsa. 2003. De hägnade bergens landskap. Om den äldre järnåldern på Södertörn.
28. STENBÄCK, Niklas. 2003. Människorna vid havet. Platser och keramik på ålandsöarna perioden 3500 - 2000 f. Kr.
29. LINDGREN, Christina. 2004. Människor och kvarts. Sociala och teknologiska strategier under mesolitikum i östra Mellansverige.
30. LAGERSTEDT, Anna. 2004. Det norrländska rummet. Vardagsliv och socialt samspel i medeltidens bondesamhälle.
31. von HEIJNE, Cecilia. 2004. Särpräglad. Vikingatida och tidig medeltidamäntfynd från Danmark, Skåne, Blekinge och Halland (ca 800-1130).
32. FERNSTÅL, Lotta. 2004. Delar av en grav och glimtar av en tid. Om yngre romersk järnålder, Tuna i Badelunda i Västmanland och personen i grav X.
33. THEDÉEN, Susanne. 2004. Gränser i livet - gränser i landskapet. Generationsrelationer och rituella praktiker i södermanländska bronsålderslandskap.
34. STENSKÖLD, Eva. 2004. Att berätta en senneolitisk historia. Sten och metall i södra Sverige 2350-1700 f. Kr.
35. REGNER, Elisabet. 2005. Den reformerade världen. Monastisk och materiell kultur i Alvastra kloster från medeltid till modern tid.
36. MONIÉ NORDIN, Jonas. 2005. När makten blev synlig. Senmedeltid i södra Dalarna.
37. FELDT, Björn. 2005. Synliga och osynliga gränser. Förändringar i gravritualen under yngre bronsålder - förromersk järnålder i Södermanland.
38. RUNER, Johan. 2006. Från hav till land eller Kristus och odalen. En studie av Sverige under äldre medeltid med utgångspunkt från de romanska kyrkorna.
39. STENQVIST MILLDE, Ylva. 2007. Vägar inom rätkhåll. Spår efter resande i det förindustriella bondesamhället.
40. BACK DANIELSSON, Ing-Marie. 2007. Masking Moments. The Transitions of Bodies and Beings in Late Iron Age Scandinavia.
41. SELLING, Susanne. 2007. Livets scener och dödens platser. Om bronsålder i södra Bohuslän utifrån en gravläggning i Faxehögen, Kareby socken.
42. ARNBERG, Anna. 2007. Där människor, handling och tid möts. En studie av det förromerska landskapet på Gotland.

